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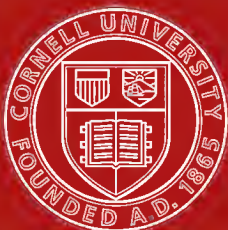
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BARON WILHELM VON KNYPHAUSEN, 1730-1789.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE HESSIAN AUXILIARY CORPS IN AMERICA, 1778-1782.

American History
FROM
German Archives
WITH REFERENCE TO THE
German Soldiers in the Revolution
AND
Franklin's Visit to Germany

BY
J. G. ROSENGARTEN

PART XIII. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



LANCASTER, PA.

1904

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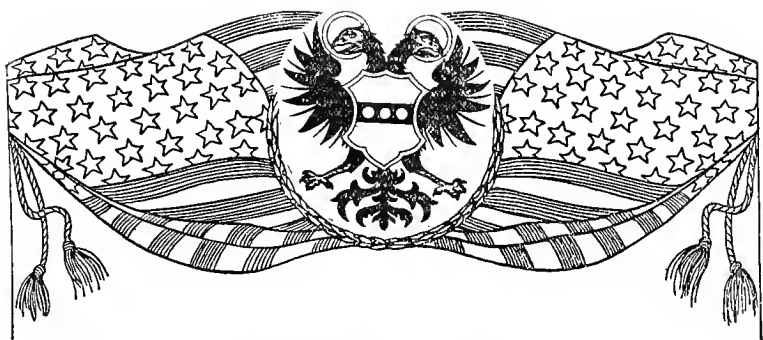
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PREFATORY NOTE.



THE following pages are a contribution to a better knowledge of the German Allied Troops serving under the British flag in the war of American Independence. Printed in various journals and at different times, they are now for the first time brought together for the use of the Pennsylvania-German Society. The successive volumes of its publications have received the hearty praise of students of American history, and much light has been thrown on the hitherto neglected sources of our early German settlements, so large a factor in the successful growth of our own Commonwealth. This paper in its present form owes much of any value and interest it may possess, to the illustrations to the text, gathered and reproduced by Mr. Julius F. Sachse, whose artistic skill and historical knowledge have done so much for Pennsylvania history. It is to be hoped that the Pennsylvania-German Society will lend its help to secure copies of the great collection of original papers in German Archives, throwing new light on the successive phases of Germany's share in American history, alike in peace and in war, for at all times Ger-

many was a fostering mother for her children in America ; to the infant colonies, and especially to Pennsylvania, it supplied sturdy farmers, industrious mechanics, intelligent teachers, learned clergymen, educated physicians, university graduates and trained soldiers. Many of them are now famous in our history, but some are still buried in obscurity, and to reveal their services, search must be made in the forgotten archives of Germany, where are kept the letters between the German Church authorities and their representatives in this country, as well as the military records particularly referred to in the following pages. The Pennsylvania-German Society has wisely devoted most of its contributions to the peaceful side of our history, to the emigration that made Pennsylvania prosperous, and to the steady and sturdy growth of the German settlers in Pennsylvania. It may not be without interest to point to the other side of the picture, to the sources of a better knowledge of the part played by the German Allied Troops in the American Revolution, for to their familiar letters home this country, no doubt, owed much of its increased importance in the eyes of Germany, and after Independence was secured, many Germans who had served here as soldiers on the British side, came to the United States, some as travelers, many as settlers, and thus opened the way for that steady flow of German immigration that still continues to fill our borders. These pages may find a modest place among the many valuable contributions that have given to the Pennsylvania-German Society so distinguished a position among similar societies in this country.

There is still another phase of the relation of the German Allied Troops and America not found in the official archives of either country, but still of interest. There were a good many marriages of German officers and soldiers to Americans. In Rhode Island there was a case where two

sisters of an excellent Newport family married two of the Hessian officers, and to this day the tie of relationship is kept alive by exchange of letters and visits, for a period now of over a hundred and twenty-five years. There are other such cases in Maryland and Virginia and South Carolina, noteworthy among which may be quoted the case of the father of Rev. John Gottlieb Morris of Maryland, who became a distinguished surgeon in the Revolutionary army. Still more frequent were the marriages of non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, both during their period of service and after their discharge. There is in Philadelphia more than one noteworthy family sprung from such international marriages, and in one case at least, in spite of a translation of the good old German name to one nearer English style, the American descendants have renewed relations with their German kinsfolk and traced these far and wide. Hardly an old Pennsylvania or Maryland town or village, where Hessians and other German allied troops were quartered during their long imprisonment after Saratoga and Trenton and Yorktown, that there is not a family descended from a Hessian ancestor. Could it not be possible to collect the details of these marriages, and form among the descendants, another sort of patriotic society, in which Americans descended from German soldiers should alone be enrolled? No doubt many of these families have letters and papers that would be of interest.





CHAPTER I.

AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



WHILE a body of able historians, McMaster, Rhoades, Fiske, Schouler and others are enriching the world by an admirable series of works on American history, there still remains another field for historical research of interest and value. There are in Germany many papers dealing with the services of the Germans who were here as soldiers under

the British flag, and took an active and important part in the war of American independence. Bancroft and Lowell, Kapp and Ratterman have collected and used such material as they could gather, and General Stryker, in his *History of the Battle of Trenton*, has added largely to our stock of material for a better knowledge of the contents of the German Archives still carefully preserved at Marburg and Berlin, and other collections of German records. It was through Kapp's labors that Bancroft added to his own collections,

now belonging to the New York Public Library and deposited in the Lenox Library of that city. These include Steuben's Letters, Riedesel's Papers, the Anspach Papers, the Brunswick Papers, Ewald's *Feldzug der Hessen nach Amerika*, *Geschichte der Hessischen Yäger in Amerikanischen Kriege*, 14 vols. of German MSS., Diaries and Journals of Wiederhold, Malzburg, the Lossberg Regiment, von Malsburg, Papet, Wiederfeld, the 3d Waldeck Regiment, Lotheisen, Reuber, Piel, Döhla, Rüffer, Dinklage, the Hessian Yäger Regiment, and many volumes of Reports on the Battles of Long Island, Bennington, the Brandywine, and State Papers relating to Prussia and America, Prussia and France, Prussia and Holland, Prussia and England and Washington and Frederick the Great, in all forty MS. volumes bearing on the American Revolution. Sparks, in his collection now deposited in the Library of Harvard University, had a collection of papers of Steuben, the MS. of De Kalb's *Mission to America* in 1768 (since printed in part in French), the Correspondence of Frederick the Great with his Ministers in London and Paris during the American War of Independence, procured in Berlin in 1844 by Wheaton, then American Minister there. In the *Magazine of American History* for 1877, there is a translation, by A. A. Bierstadt, of Bauermeister's *Narrative of the Capture of New York*, addressed to Captain von Wangenheim; this was part of the Bancroft collection. In the same volume is De Lancey's account of the capture of Fort Washington, with a map, from the original in Cassel, obtained by Professor Joy for Mr. J. Carson Brevoort. The New York Historical Society has printed the Journal of Krafft, a volunteer and corporal in Donop's regiment, and a lieutenant in that of von Bose, who married in New York, became a clerk in the Treasury Department at Washing-

ton, and died there in 1804. That Society has also printed the Journal of General Rainsford, the British Commissary in charge of the German forces sent to this country by Great Britain. General Stryker obtained from the Archives at Marburg and Cassel many important papers freely and well used in his capital history of the Battle of Trenton; they include the Court of Inquiry of the Lossberg, Knyp-hausen and Rall Regiments, lists of their officers and of those of the Artillery and Yägers, Maps by Wiederhold, Fischer and Piel, the letters of Donop and Rall, of the Electors of Hesse to Knyphausen, Diaries of Piel, Minni-gerode, Wiederhold and Ewald, Reports of Donop's Spies, and altogether some twenty MSS., all dealing with the Battle of Trenton.

Mr. Charles Gross gave, in the New York *Evening Post*, an account of his visit to the Marburg Archives, where he found the Journal of the Hessian Corps in America under General v. Heister; Reports of Heister and of his successor in command, v. Knyphausen, and many hundreds of unbound papers. In the Kriegs Archiv des Grossen Generalstabs in Berlin there are many official reports and many papers not arranged or catalogued.

Frederick Kapp described the Marburg Archives as including ten folio volumes of papers relating to the part taken by the Hessian Corps in the American Revolution, the negotiations of the Landgrave and his Minister, v. Schlieffen, with the English government, the correspondence of the commanding officers, with reports of operations, maps, sketches, etc. There are three volumes of the proceedings of the Court Martial on the Battle of Trenton, a number of Hessian War Records indexed by Col. Sturm-feder, and hundreds of letters written by officers to their families, who were directed by the Landgrave to send

them to him for perusal — involuntary, but very good and competent witnesses of what they saw in America. Mr. Edward J. Lowell, author of that capital book, *The Hessians in the American Revolution*, in a paper printed in the second volume, second series of the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, speaks of thirty-seven regimental journals, and twelve volumes of papers at Marburg and twenty-five in Cassel, in addition to a large collection in Berlin, a fragment of a Journal of the Waldeck Regiment at Arolsen, and that of an officer of the Anspach Regiment in the Anspach

Library. In his *Hessians in the American Revolution*, Mr. Lowell refers to a dozen Diaries and Journals in the collection at Cassel. A copy of one of these, that of Wiederhold, covers the period from October 7, 1776, to December 7, 1780, with seventeen colored maps, plans, etc. At the end there is a note that Wiederhold died in Cassel in 1805, when the original descended to his



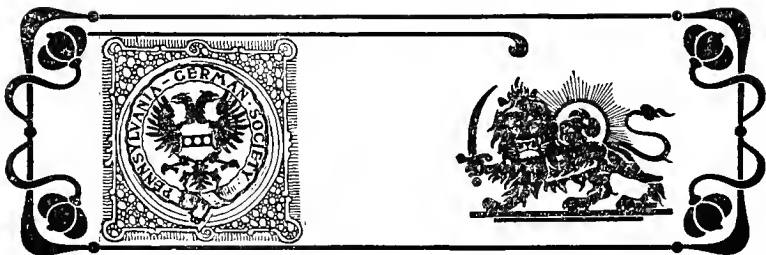
son, who died at Marburg in 1863. From him it passed to his son, who went to America in 1880, but since then has not been heard from, so that the original has been lost or is, at least, no longer accessible. Bancroft and Washington Irving used copies (without the maps, etc.) made for them, and speak of it as very valuable. Bound up with my copy are extracts from letters of Henel and Henkelman and Ries, giving an account of the capture of Fort Washington, and the order changing the name to Fort Knyphausen; a list

AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



EMANUEL ERNST ANTON VON WILMOUSKY.
MAJOR LOSSBERG REGIMENT, JUNIOR.

of the Hessian Regiments and their commanders, and a memorandum that each batallion was ordered to keep an exact journal in duplicate, of which one copy was to be filed in the State Archives; lists of the Troops sent to America and their organization, and of General and Field Officers; list of casualties at the capture of Fort Washington, signed by Knyphausen; and a bibliography of German books, on the share of the German troops in the American War of Independence, among them the Memoirs of Ochs and Senden, who lived to be Hessian General Officers, and various Magazine articles, and the Diary of a Hessian Officer by Dr. v. Heister in the *Zeitschrift für Kunst des Krieges*, Berlin, 1828; a fragment of an apparently original Diary of a Soldier; a copy of that of Rechnagel; extracts from the Journal of Donop, and from that of the Court of Inquiry on the Battle of Trenton, with reports of the Lossberg, Knyphausen and Rall Regiments in that affair, and of Schaffer, Matthaeus, Baum, Pauli, Biel, Martin, all dated Philadelphia, 1778, and the finding of the Court, dated April 23, 1782, and a fragment of its report. The author of this Diary, Andreas Wiederhold, was a Lieutenant in Rall's Regiment and afterwards Captain in the Knyphausen Regiment. Lowell, in his capital book on *The Hessians in America*, makes frequent use of this Diary, and in a note says that Ewald mentions Wiederhold as distinguished in 1762, so that he could not have been a very young man when he served here. Lowell used a copy in the Cassel Library, and notes that "it was made from the original by the husband of Wiederhold's granddaughter, and contains several interesting appendices," so mine may be a counterpart.



CHAPTER II.

THE GERMAN SOLDIER IN THE AMERICAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.



IN the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, Thursday, January 25, 1900, appeared the following on "The German Soldier in the American War for Independence":

For many years Germany showed a good deal of regret for the part played by its soldiers in the English Army in our struggle for independence.

With her own rise and growth in importance as a nation, she has begun to assert the value of the services of the German allies of the British Army. Eelking wrote an exhaustive history of their achievements, and Kapp a valuable book on the subject. Not long since a Hessian, Treller, published quite a good historical novel, *Forgotten Heroes*, in which he paid tribute to the Germans who fought under the English flag in America. Recently another German author, Moritz von Berg, printed a long historical romance on the same subject, dedicated to the great grandson of General von

Heister, the leader of the Hessian soldiers in America. The story is drawn largely from the papers of the times still preserved in the public offices and by private families of the country which sent its sons to fight here. The scenes described contrast the home life of the Hessians at the time, and the new country in which the young soldiers made their campaign, and the historical portion deals with the elector of Hesse and his share in supplying soldiers to his cousin, the King of England, to help in reducing his rebellious subjects in America. The events of the American War of Independence are followed very closely, and in an appendix are a number of hitherto unprinted letters and some documents drawn from the Archives at Marburg, and from Eelking, and other historical sources.

The book has value and interest as showing that Germany to-day takes a curious pride in the share her sons played in the history of the United States. Of even greater interest is the "Diary of a Hessian officer at the time of the American War of Independence," recently printed at Pyritz on the anniversary of the founding of the Royal Bismarck Gymnasium of that place. It is the journal of Captain von Dörnberg, preserved by his family at their home in Hesse. It covers the period from March 1779 to June 1781, and gives his letters home from the time he left with his command until his return on the staff of General Knyphausen. There is a brief historical sketch of the War of American Independence, intended for the use of the boys of the Gymnasium or High School, and a short sketch of the life of the writer, who, after serving in the Wars with Napoleon and later as Hessian Minister in London, died in Cassel in 1819. His diary, journal and letters are mostly written in French, for that was the court language of the day, and his clever pencil sketches served

to heighten their interest for the home circle, while their preservation until their recent publication shows that his descendants are not ashamed of his share of that service, which at least made America better known to the people of Germany, while it gave them lessons of value for their own improvement in the art of war. Although the campaigns took him through both North and South, it is characteristic of German fidelity to duty, that his descriptions are limited to his own modest share in the business of soldiering, and that he nowhere gives the slightest intimation that he saw the future greatness of the new republic. In this respect he and his countrymen were greatly unlike the French, whose letters and descriptions were full of their anticipations of the country to whose independence they contributed alike in men and money. The Dörn-

berg Diary, however, has the value of an original and hitherto unprinted addition to the contemporary records of the American Revolution by one who did his best to prevent its successful issue.

Then there are novels by Spielhagen and by Norden, dealing with the adventures of the German soldiers serving in the English army in the American Revolution.

The editor of the Dörnberg Diary, Gotthold Marseille, Head Master of the Gymnasium at Pyritz, speaks of a privately printed Family History of the Schlieffens, belonging to the present head of the family living at Pyritz, with a full account of the negotiations of Count Martin



von Schlieffen as Minister of Landgraf Frederick II. of Hesse Cassel, with Col. Faucit as the representative of George III. He also refers to Ewald's book on Light Infantry, published in Cassel in 1785, on his return from America, where he had learned many useful lessons afterwards put in practice in his reorganization of the German troops for service in the wars with Napoleon. The continuation of Dörnberg's Diary will add another to the numerous list of original papers by those who actually served here.

Pausch's Journal was printed by Stone as No. 14 of Munsell's Historical Series, Albany, 1887, and as he was Chief of the Hanau Artillery during Burgoyne's Campaign it has, of course, special interest. Gen. Stryker got through Mr. Pendleton, then Minister in Berlin, an order from the younger Bismarck, then an assistant to his father, to examine the records at Marburg, and through a German long resident in Trenton he procured about a thousand pages of MS., covering everything relating to the Hessians at Trenton. The substance of this is now published in Gen. Stryker's admirable and exhaustive *History of the Battle of Trenton*, rich in its original material, reproduced in text and notes and appendices, for students of history. Taking advantage of the fact that a nephew was studying at Marburg, I wrote to him that Lowell said a descriptive catalogue of the Archives there relating to the American War of Independence could be made for six hundred marks, and asked him to call on Dr. Könnicke, for many years in charge. In reply to questions on the subject, he said it would cost four or five thousand marks, and take a long time, adding that Eelking was too biassed to be trustworthy, and he (Könnicke) had no sympathy with Americans. He, however, showed his collection of Berichte,

Tagebücher, Registers, Letters between the Landgraf and Knyphausen; an assistant was much more ready to give all the help in his power, and I still think that such a Catalogue of the American records at Marburg would be well worth getting. The renewed interest of the Hessians in the part their ancestors took in the American War of Independence is shown in a lecture on the subject by Col. v. Werthern, of the Hussar Regiment Hesse Homburg, delivered by him at the Officers' Casino, and printed at Cassel in 1895. He refers to Eelking and to von Pfister's unfinished work on the same subject, Cassel, 1864, and to letters printed in the *Preussische Militär Wochenblatt* in 1833, and in the second volume of the *Kurhessischen Zeitschrift*; Col. v. Werthern says his special purpose is to enlist the interest of owners of letters and journals of those who took part in the American War, some of which had been shown to him. The publication of the Dörnberg Diary shows that good results have followed his appeal. He estimates the number who remained in America as about 4,500, and no doubt many of them became good Americans. He mentions the fact that the young volunteer, Ochs, who has left a capital book on his experiences as a soldier in America, rose to be a General in the Hessian Army, and left a son who served from 1836 to 1850, and finally was in command of the Regiment which Col. v. Werthern was addressing in 1895. Not without interest is Popp's Diary, he was a soldier in the Beyreuth Anspach Regiment, who came to this country in his 22nd year, an illiterate young fellow; he began his Diary on June 26, 1777, and carried it on after his return home, adding some curious verses, *Das Lied von Ausmarsch und Gedenken über die Hergabe der beiden Markgrafthümer Bayreuth u. Anspach in Franken an das Königliche Haus Preussen*,

in which, with great patience and ingenuity, the left-hand column is a strong thanksgiving, but reading across the lines there is a right-hand column in which the Lord's Prayer is so divided as to change the sense into a bitter attack on this transfer of sovereignty. The original is preserved in the City Library of Bayreuth; it closes with some notes as late as 1796, and has some very good maps of the operations on the Hudson, on the Delaware and around Philadelphia. The copy of it which I own was made for me at Bayreuth, but the Librarian there said that he knew of no other material of the kind preserved in either public or private collections in that quaint old town so full of memories of the 18th Century. In a little book of *Stories of Hessian War History*, by Freiherr v. Dittfurth, (the name is of interest as it was that of one of the Hessian Regiments which served here) — there is a statement that from one Hessian village, 30 men were sent with various Regiments to America, and 12 of them were heads of families. Reuber's Diary shows that of these 30, only 2 died here, and one remained in America. A

large proportion of the so-called Hessians were volunteers from other parts of Germany, attracted by the high pay and the good care given by the British to their soldiers. In those days of distress and need, Germans were only too glad to escape compulsory military service in Prussia and other German States, by volunteering in the Regiments raised for the American War, and the prospect of a new home.



Ditfurth demonstrates the utter falsity of the pretended letter of the elector of Hesse Cassel, dated February 8, 1778, now accepted as one of Franklin's characteristic and clever bits of satire directed against Great Britain and its allies. It seems to have been revived in the German press in 1847, through an American historian, Eugene Regnaud, of the St. Louis *Reveille*, and printed by Dr. Franz Löher, professor and member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, in his *History of Germans in America*, Leipsic and Cincinnati, 1847, as an interesting, if doubtful, contribution to the contemporary documents of the American Revolution. A careful answer was supplied in the *Grenzboten* of 1858 (No. 29) by the Keeper of the Archives at Cassel, in copies or extracts from the MS. correspondence of the Landgraf Frederick II. with Heister and Knyphausen, in reference to the Hessian losses at Trenton; in fact, the regiments that suffered most there now make that battle part of their record of honor. It is one of their traditions that Ewald first threw aside the powdered queues and heavy boots of the Hessians, clothing his Yägerbattalion in a fashion suited to American climate and conditions, and thus set the example followed with great advantage in the Napoleonic Wars. Other Hessian officers who had served here, notably Münchhausen, Wiederhold, Ochs, Emmerich, Ewald and others, applied the lessons they had learned here and thus became distinguished among the soldiers who showed great ability in restoring to Germany its independence of French mastery. The reputation brought home by the Hessians who served in America led Frederick the Great of Prussia to try to secure for his army the services of their officers, particularly of the light infantry and Yägers. Many of them won distinction in the wars with Napoleon against the French offi-



UNIFORMS OF ANSPACH-BAIREUTH INFANTRY.

INFANTRY REGT.
VOIGT V SALZBURG.

GRENADEIER BAT.
V BEUST.

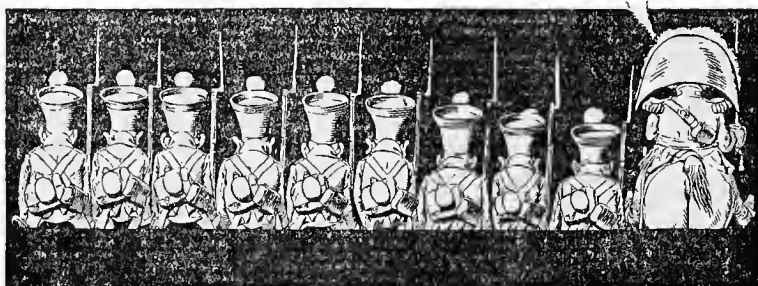
FUSILIER BAT.
V REITZENSTEIN.

YAGER BAT.
V WALDENFELS.

cers who had also served against them in America. The army lists of France, Germany and England are full of the names of those who had learned useful lessons in the art of war in the American Revolution. Even the pay, clothing, food and allowances of the Hessian soldiers were increased in order to secure something like the advantageous conditions under which officers and men served under the British flag in America and in the other wars and expeditions that were carried on largely by German allied troops.



THE RECRUIT 1776



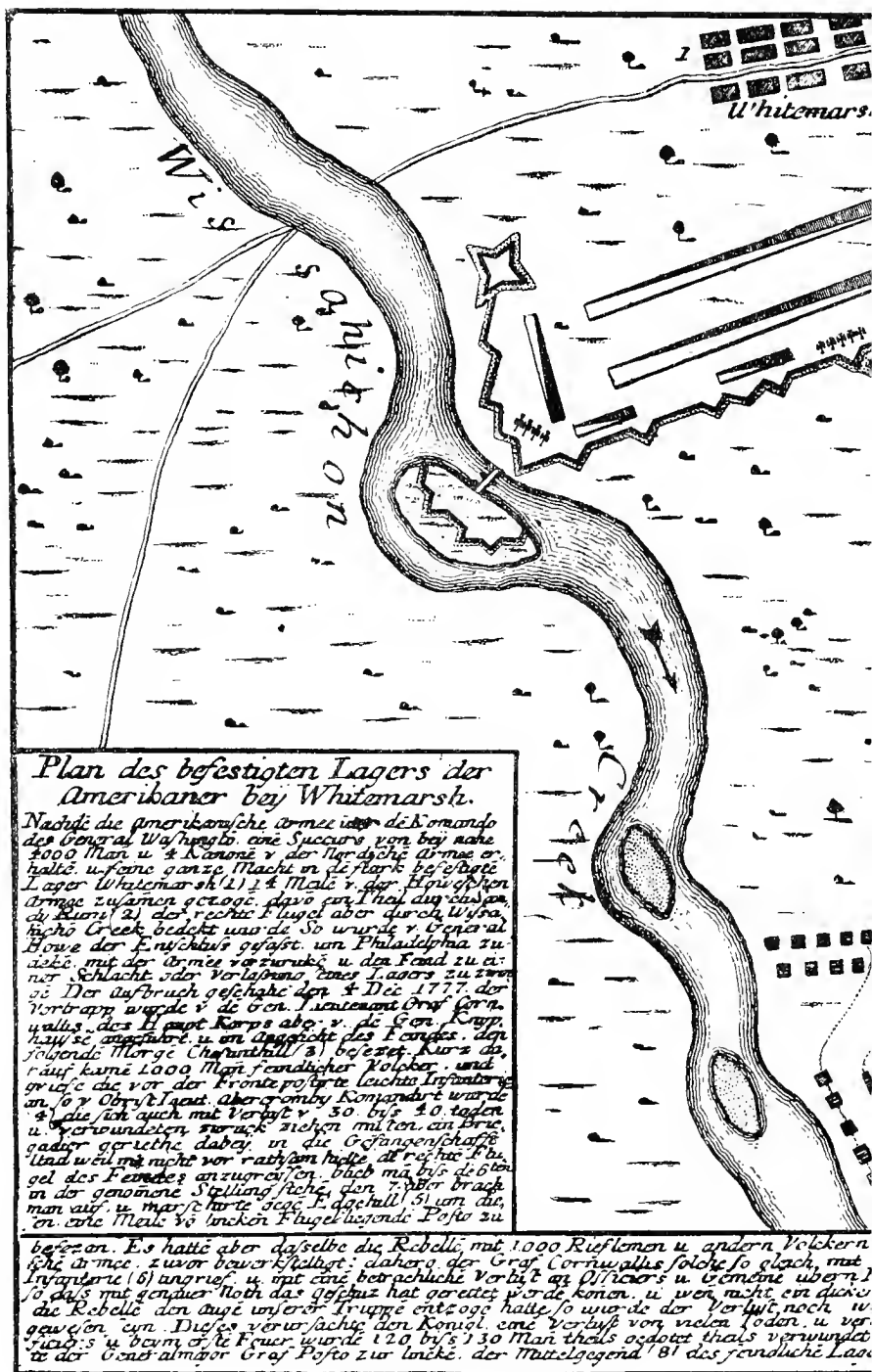
CHAPTER III.

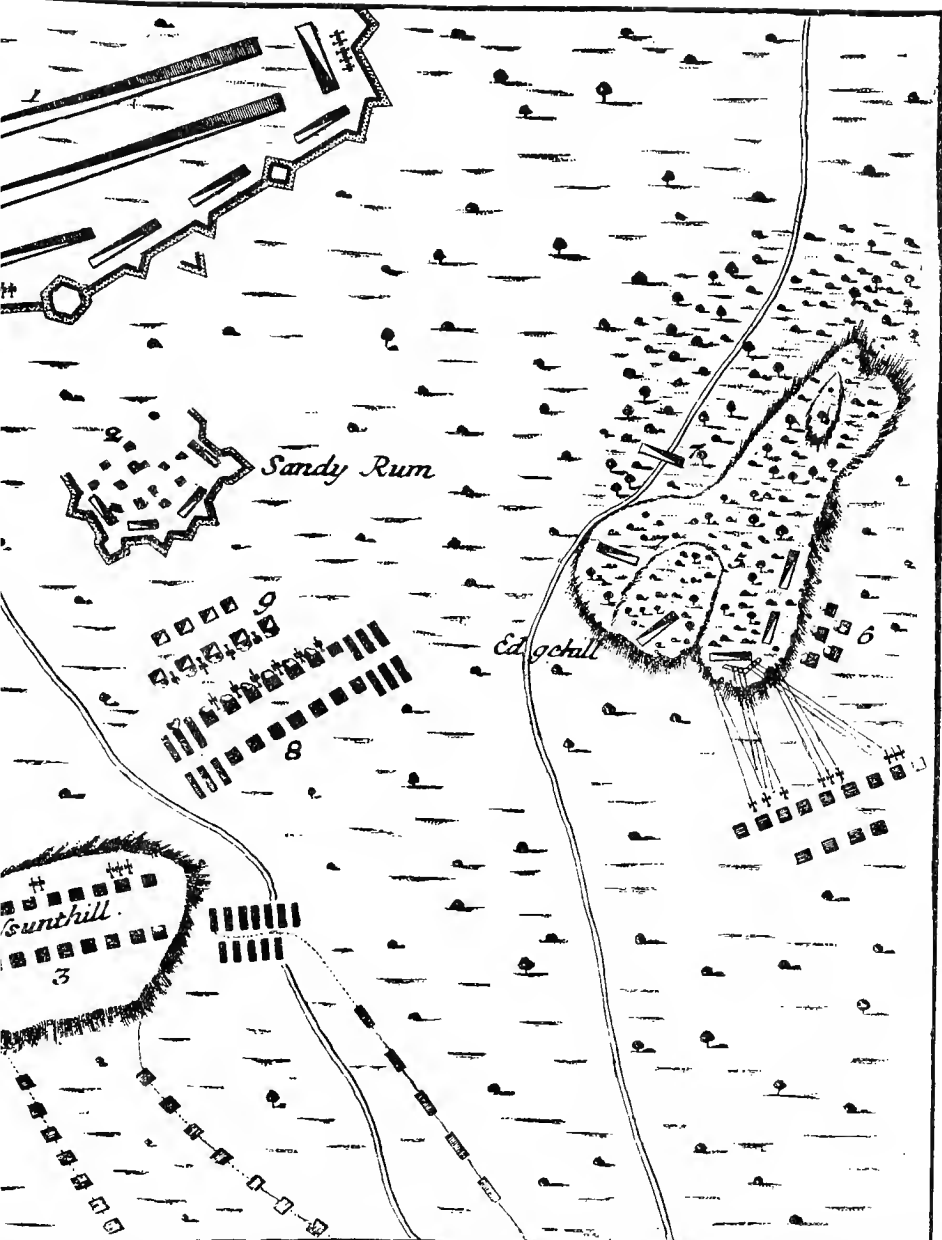
GERMAN DIARIES AND JOURNALS.



OF the German Diaries and Journals now accessible in print, there are:

1. Melzheimer, printed in Montreal from a copy furnished by Stone.
2. Papet, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*.
3. Döhla, printed by Rattermann in *Deutsch Amerik. Magazin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 1866.
4. Pausch, printed by Stone, in Munsell's Series.
5. Baurmeister, in *Magazine of American History*, 1877, by Bierstadt, of the N. Y. Historical Society.
6. Riedesel's Letters in his *Life* by Eelking, reprinted in a translation by Stone.
7. Madame von Riedesel's admirable *Letters*, first printed in Berlin in 1801, and since then in several editions both in Germany and in this country.
8. Schübert v. Senden's Journal (an extract was printed





her schickte ihn zu bewachen einen Lauf von 91 ab, welcher aber durch des Generals
 Vorposten, mit einem Verlust von 50. Man an toden u. verwundeten zurück geschick
 en wurde. Wollte aber der Feind aus seiner Stellung nicht zu bringe u. die Truppe em
 edte u. Gepäck bey dieser Jahreszeit nicht aus halten konnten. So zogen sich dieselbe den
 gegen Philadelphia zurück, von die Winterquartiere dafelbst zu beziehen. Über
 laufs find in denselben verschiedene Scharmützeln vom 4ten bis 8ten Dec 1 Tausend
 Serjents 16 Gemeinen Schudet, 3. Lieut. & Serjents, 52 Gemeine verwundet, u. 33
 Gemeine vermisst, an allem 111. Mann.

Ich Mar. & Will. er. d. d. aus Tind.

WHITEMARSH.

IN CITY LIBRARY AT BAYREUTH. COURTESY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

in 1839 in Vol. 47, of the *Journal for Art, Science and History of War*, Berlin, Mittler).

Of others not yet printed there are MSS. :

1. *Malsburg*, mentioned by Eelking as in his possession in Meiningen in 1862. Of it Bancroft's Collection (now in the Lenox Library, N. Y.) has a copy in two volumes, made by Kapp's direction, with his note that Malsburg was a superficial observer and reporter, as well as of :

2. *Reuter's*, of Rall's Regiment, 1776-1783.

3. *Lotheisen's* Journal of the Leib (Body) Guard Regiment, 1776-1784, with a description of Philadelphia in 1777-1778. Eelking notes that he had compared the original signed by Lotheisen, Marburg, August 1, 1784, with the copy.

4. *Piel*, Lossberg Regiment, 1776-1783, includes Diary of Voyage, and Extracts from Trenton Court of Inquiry.

5. *Steuernagel*, Waldeck Regiment, 1776-1783.

6. *Wiederhold*, Diary, 1776-1780 (printed in Amer. Germ.) (vide Appendix A).

7. *Ewald*, Feldzug der Hessen in Amerika, copied from Ephemeriden, Marburg, 1785.

8. Journal of Lowenstein Regiment.

9. do of Plattes Battalion, by Bauer.

10. do of Lossburg Regiment, by Heusser.

11. do of Huyn Regiment, by Kleinschmidt.

12. do of the Feldjäger Corps.

13. do of the Trumbach Regiment.

14. do of the Knoblauch Regiment.

15. do of the Mirbach Regiment.

16. Reports of Knyphausen and Riedesel.

17. Popp's Journal (vide Appendix B).

Of printed books by Germans who served here, many are noteworthy, for instance, Friedrich Adolph Julius von Wangenheim, First Lieutenant and later Captain on the

staff, came in 1777 from the Ducal Gotha service into the Hessian Yäger Corps, and remained in it after the war. He published in Göttingen in 1781 a "Description of American Trees, with reference to their use in German forests," and this little volume, dated at Staaten Island, was after his return, reprinted in 1787, in a handsome illustrated folio. He afterwards entered the Prussian Forestry service, and established near Berlin a small collection of American trees, still preserved with pride by his successors in office in charge of it.

Dr. Johann David Schoepf was a military surgeon in the German forces serving here during the American Revolution, and he printed in Erlangen, in 1781, an account of his medical experiences, which was translated and reprinted in Boston in 1875. He also printed in 1787 a *Materia Medica Americanis Septentrionalis Potissimum Regni Vegetabilis*, in which he used material supplied to him by G. H. E. Muhlenberg, of Lancaster; later he returned here and his *Travels*, published in 1788, are well-known, and he did even greater service by making American botanists and men of other scientific pursuits better known to those of Germany by exchange of letters, etc.

In 1817 General Baron von Ochs published in Cassel his observations on the modern art of war, containing much of his personal experiences during his service in this country as a subaltern. His *Life* has a very good account of his services in this country.

In 1796 Ewald, then a lieutenant-colonel in the Danish service, published in Schleswig, his *Service of Light Infantry*, already printed in Hesse Cassel in 1784; it is full of references to his personal experiences in America, and it is significant of the man that after carrying off from the Hopkinson House, at Bordentown, N. J., the volume

We the undersigned Dutiable Officers under the Convention
 of London & having obtained Permission to go to Reading in the
 State of Pennsylvania, with leave of Absence for two months
 from the 26th Instant do hereby Promise and engage on our
 Oath of Honor and on the faith of Gentlemen that we will not
 do or say any thing to the prejudice of the united State of America
 or any of them, nor will we endeavor to obtain a knowledge of
 the State of the Queen, through or through the Post, or through or
 any other means, or through the means of the United States or any of them
 or by any other means or through any other means to the
 prejudice of the said State, and that we will return at the time limited
 for our Absence.

On which subject we have presented the

Underhand this 9th day of October 1780

Charles de Meiborn
 Charles de Meiborn

edited by Provost Smith, of the College of Philadelphia, containing young Hopkinson's prize essay, he returned it with thanks, and the book is still in the possession of the Hopkinson family as one of their rare treasures. In his little book he reports what General Howe told him of his personal experience during the old French War in America, and confirms it by his success with light troops in the American War of Independence. He gives a curious picture of Philadelphia in 1778, when Colonel von Wurmb had charge of the expeditions sent out to bring in supplies; he divided his force into three parties, — one went out on the Lancaster Road, another out the Marshall Road, and the third out the Darby road — these three roads being parallel and only a half hour's march apart; the woods that lined them were thoroughly searched by patrols, so that the enemy, in spite of Washington and Morgan, could never reach the foragers. He speaks of the success of the Americans in their attacks on small and large English forces not properly protected by light infantry outposts. His own experience in the Seven Years' War in Europe was of service to him in America, and that again increased his efficiency in the war with France and Germany. He describes Pulaski's failure at Egg Harbor, and Donop's at Red Bank, and Arnold's in Virginia, and Armand's at Morristown, and Tarleton's success, and his own, as examples of what light infantry can do or fail in, just as they are well or badly led. He criticises Howe's failure to follow up his success at Brandywine, and calls it building a golden bridge for the enemy thus to neglect to drive him with fresh troops when he is in retreat. In the Jerseys, on Rhode Island, at Germantown, in Virginia, he saw just such examples of the neglect to use light infantry to advantage, and he points out many instances in which

their value was shown on both sides. Ewald also printed at Schleswig, in 1798, 1800 and 1803, three small volumes, *Belehrungen über den Krieg*, with anecdotes of soldiers from Alexander and Pompey to Frederick the Great and Napoleon, with some of his own personal experience in America.

Seume, a well-known German writer, wrote at Halifax in 1782 his account of his experience in the Hessian service; it was first printed in Archenholz' *Journal* in 1789, and a translation is in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for November, 1887; it is also found in his autobiography, published in his collected works, and the changes between this and the earlier version have been unfavorably commented on.

Schlözcr's *Briefwechsel*, 10 volumes, 1776-1782, and his *Staats Anzeigen*, a continuation, in 18 volumes, contain many papers of interest relating to the American War of Independence, notably a series of letters from an officer who served under Burgoyne, and dragged out weary months as a prisoner of war in Cambridge and later in Virginia. The Frankfort *Neuesten Staatsbegebenheiten* published letters by German officers describing the Battle of Long Island. *v. Sendens Tagebuch* appeared in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Krieges*, Berlin, Mittler, 8th and 9th parts, 1839. He, too, was a general officer at the time of his death.

v. Heister's Diary is printed in *Zeitschrift für Kunst des Krieges*, Berlin, Mittler, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1828.

Reimer, Amerikanisches Archiv, 3 vols., Brunswick, 1777-8.

Melsheimer, Tagebuch, Minden, 1776.

Riedesel, Mme., Die Berufsreise Nach Amerika, Berlin, 1801 (and frequently reprinted). One of the most charm-

Sicherheitsbrief
 allen offiziers, soldaten und was sonst Zue unserm gehört
 und der Dienst mit das fassen befohlen dem
 Ezra Black ein wohnen hier das große feldt
 Burlington in der provinz New Jersey und dessen
 familie und eigenthum nicht ein geringster zu
 bekränken oder etwas zu unterhandeln verurtheilt
 sollen sehr aufs aller Way dinstlich bestraft
 werden bordenundaun

gegeben den 10^{ten} Decembar 1776

Mit befehl des Commandierenden in chef
 — Johann Hinrichs
 Lieut

SAFE CONDUCT, SIGNED BY LIEUT. HINRICHS. (ORIGINAL IN
 F. G. ROSENGARTEN'S COLLECTION.)

(Translation.) All officers, soldiers, and whosoever pertains to the army are hereby most sharply commanded that Ezra Black, a resident of the County of Burlington, in the province of New Jersey, his family and property are not to be injured in the least, nor is anything to be purloined. Otherwise such will be most severely punished.

Bordenundaun, given the 10th of December, 1776.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

JOHANN HINRICHS, Lieut.

AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



BARON FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON LOSSBERG.

MAJOR-GENERAL, 1778-1781; LIEUTENANT-GENERAL 1782-1783.

ing books that can be found — full of womanly heroism.

Leiste, Beschreibung des Brittischen Amerika. Wolfenbüttel, 1778.

Schlieffen, Von den Hessen in Amerika, 1782.

Hinrichs, extracts from the letter book of Captain Johann Hinrichs of the Hessian Yäger Corps, 1778–1780, translated by Julius F. Sachse, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, July, 1898.

Brunswick Magazine, a Hessian journal, gives a letter, reprinted in translation in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, from the Duke to Riedesel, advising all supernumerary officers and sick and wounded and men under punishment to remain in America.

Der Hessische Offizier in America is a curious little play printed in Göttingen, 1783, and characteristic as showing the interest in America at the time of its publication. The scene is laid in Philadelphia during its occupancy by the British, and Indians, Quakers, English, German and American soldiers, and negroes, are among the dramatis personæ,—it must have been written by some one who had been here, for it shows great familiarity with the city and the conflicting parties residing or stationed here during the Revolution.

Of recent works, dealing with the German soldiers in the British Army during the American War of Independence, the most notable are :

Max von Eelking, *Die Deutschen Hülfsstruppen im Nord-amerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783*. Hannover, 1863, 2 vols. (An abridged translation was printed by Munsell in Albany in 1893.)

Eelking, *Leben und Wirken des Herzoglich Braunschweig'schen General Lieutenants Friedrich Adolph von Riedesel*, Leipzig, 1856, 3 vols. (Stone's translation was printed by Munsell in Albany.)

Friedrich Kapp, *Der Soldatenhandel deutschen Fürsten nach Amerika*, Berlin, 1864 and a second edition, 1874.

His life of Steuben and that of De Kalb were printed, the former in Berlin, 1858, and the latter in Stuttgart in 1862, and both in English in New York subsequently. His *Geschichte der deutschen im Staate New York*, N. Y., 1869.

His *Friedrich der Grosse und die Vereingten Staaten von Amerika*, Leipzig, 1871.

Ferdinand Pfister, *Der Nordamerikanische Unabhängigkeits Krieg*, Kassel, 1864.

An anonymous pamphlet, *Friedrich II.*, Cassel, 1879, was translated (in an abridged form) and printed, with portraits of the two Electors of Hesse Cassel, father and son, who sent their soldiers to America under treaty with Great Britain, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in July, 1899. Besides its defence of the Hessian Princes on the ground that their alliance was in conformity with their traditional and historical coöperation with Great Britain, in a desperate and successful war in behalf of Protestant liberty against French tyranny and Romanism and the Free-thinking Voltairianism of Frederick the Great of Prussia, it is of interest from its demonstration of the falsity of Seume's Autobiography, and from its denial of the authenticity of the pretended letter of the Elector of Cassel, urging his General not to cure sick and wounded Hessian soldiers, as the dead ones returned more profit to their Landesvater! It is somewhat odd that this very letter should be claimed for Franklin as one of his literary burlesques by Tyler in his *Literary History of the American Revolution*, (see Vol. 2, pp. 367, 8-80,) while Bigelow in his *Life of Franklin* (Vol. 2, p. 393) and in his *Works of Franklin* (Vol. 5, pp. 224

and 243 and Vol. 6, pp. 4-8), says it was written by Franklin not long after his arrival in France in the latter part of 1776, "and is in some respects the most powerful of all the satirical writings of Franklin, equalled only by Swift in evolving both the horror and the derision of mankind." Franklin, in a letter to John Winthrop, sends from Paris on May 1, 1777, "one of the many satires that have appeared on this occasion"; *i. e.*, the sale of soldiers by German Princes. This pretended Letter of Count de Schaumburg, is dated Rome, Feb. 18, 1777, but it is not printed in Sparks, or any of the authorized editions of Franklin's works. It still remains a question of when and where and how it was first printed and published; it does not appear in Ford's *Franklin Bibliography*, which prints most of Franklin's clever jeux d'esprit, that were printed on his press at Passy and soon found their way into print in Europe and America, but Ford printed it in his *Many Sided Franklin*, page 244; Bigelow says it appears in a French version in *Lescure Correspondence inedite secrete sur Louis XVI.* (Vol. 1, pp. 31-33) Paris, but with no allusion to Franklin. No copy of it is found in the American Philosophical Society's collection of the imprints of the Passy Press, although Ford accepts Sparks and Bigelow's attribution of the authorship to Franklin, and the internal evidence fully confirms the statement; it would be of interest to fix the time and place of its first publication, its fortune in being virulently attacked, and its use in exciting justifiable indignation against the Hessian Princes, who shared with other German petty sovereigns, in the sale of subjects to fight under a foreign flag in a war which, as Frederick the Great said, was none of their business, for these things have given it a value and importance far beyond the other satirical letters produced by Franklin at

his busy Passy Press. Bancroft tells us that Frederick the Great encouraged France to enter into the alliance with America, — a counter stroke of vast importance far outweighing in its advantages for the struggling young republic, any benefit gained for Great Britain by its costly purchase of German soldiers. His hostility to England, however, did not lead him to fulfil his implied promise to join France in its active and substantial support of the Americans, for no doubt rebellion and independence were more than he could encourage, little as he liked the British effort to crush them. It is curious that Lowell should speak of Franklin's smart satire as a clumsy forgery. Kapp in his *Soldatenhandel* (Berlin, 1864) printed the letter in the Appendix 29, on page 267, from Vol. No. 500 of the pamphlets in the Library of the Historical Society of New York, and described it as printed on six octavo pages, without place of publication, but in very large type. He reproduces the original French with all its typographical mistakes, and prints on pp. 196–197 of his book a German version of the letter, and speaks of it as one of a flood of pamphlets, of which a very characteristic example was Mirabeau's *Avis aux Hessois et autres Peuples de l'Allemagne, Vendus par leur Princes à l'Angleterre, A Cleves chez Bertol, 1777*, which is now very rare, Kapp says, because the Elector of Cassel bought up all the copies he could find. It is very characteristic of the two, Mirabeau and Franklin, that the latter refers to his now famous letter only once, and that in sending it to his friend Winthrop, as one of the issues of the press then current, and it nowhere appears in his printed works or correspondence, but in the life of Mirabeau by his son, it is said that "the first work written by Mirabeau in Amsterdam was the pamphlet *Avis aux Hessois*, 12

Good. Return of Johnson to the American Arms. After 17th 1899 —

Colours & Ranks —	Major	Br. Genl	Colonels	Colonels	Majors	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Chaplain	Adjutant	Quartermaster	Surgeon	Master	Provost	Boys & Artillery	S. O. Files	Rank & File —
Thos. Thomas	"	"	"	1	1	41	8	3	1	1	1	1	2	4	41	24	139
Alfred J. Day	"	"	"	1	1	8	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	44	11	334
James M. Smith	"	"	"	1	3	7	—	—	—	3	—	—	4	17	12	226	
Frederick Day	"	"	"	1	3	8	3	1	1	1	1	3	4	43	13	334	
Richard D.	"	"	"	1	41	7	1	1	1	"	"	1	1	48	11	447	
Thomas D.	"	"	"	1	4	6	"	"	"	"	1	3	—	14	7	140	
Anthony H. Thomas	"	"	"	1	1	3	"	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	8	3	65
Richard D.	"	"	"	1	1	1	:	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	2	20
"	"	"	"	2	5	25	58	10	4	3	3	9	8	5	27	83	202
"	"	"	"	2	5	25	58	10	4	3	3	9	8	5	27	83	202

GENERAL RETURN OF GERMAN AUXILIARIES WHO SURRENDERED AT SARATOGA, OCTOBER 17, 1777.
(ORIGINAL IN F. G. ROSENGARTEN'S COLLECTION.)

pages, 1775, that it was translated into five languages, and reprinted twice by Mirabeau, in *L'Espion dévalisé*, Chapter 16, pp. 195-209, and in *L'Essai sur le despotisme*, pp. 509-518, Paris, Le Gay, 1792, and Mirabeau himself speaks of it in his *Lettres de Vincennes* on March 14, 1784, and March 24, 1786. A reply to it, *Conseils de la raison*, was published in Amsterdam in 1777, by Smidorf, supposed to be inspired by the minister of the Elector of Hesse Cassel, Schlieffen, and to it Mirabeau replied in return in his *Réponse aux Conseils de la Raison*. All of these and other pamphlets, such as Raynal's on the side of the Americans, are now forgotten, but Franklin's clever skit continues to be reprinted and read, and to keep alive the feeling against the German princes who sent their soldiers to fight under the British flag. However, the fact remains that it was through these Germans that America got many good citizens from their ranks, and better still, many of those who went home, wrote of this country in a way that quickened emigration, in which, indeed, some of them took their part later on.

To this and similar attacks the Elector, through his minister, Schlieffen, made answers in the Dutch newspapers, then the most largely sold, because they were free from censorship. Abbé Raynal, then an accepted historical authority, supported Mirabeau's attack by one that was met by Schlieffen in 1782. Kapp says Franklin himself both inspired and drew from this flood of French pamphlets against Great Britain and its German allies; but Kapp attributes this Hohendorff letter not to Franklin, but to some French pamphleteer of Mirabeau's circle, and says it was revived by Löher at the time of the Knownothing agitation, and attributed to a St. Louis paper, although its falsity was shown in an article printed in the *New Military Journal*, Darmstadt, 1858, No. 14.

It was, as Bancroft tells us, a Count Schaumburg who acted as the go-between of the British Ministry, who made unsuccessful offers of pay for troops to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, dated November 26, 1777; was that known to Franklin when he wrote his letter in the name of Count Schaumburg? No doubt he chose it in full consciousness that it would be familiar to his European readers, who would thoroughly enjoy seeing the English agent thus serving as a thin disguise for the Hessian Prince, and the indignation excited by this clever and effective bit of satire, would be directed alike against master and man, against Prince and Agent, together trading for soldiers.



THE VETERAN 1826.



CHAPTER IV.

GERMAN SOLDIERS IN THE FRENCH SERVICE.



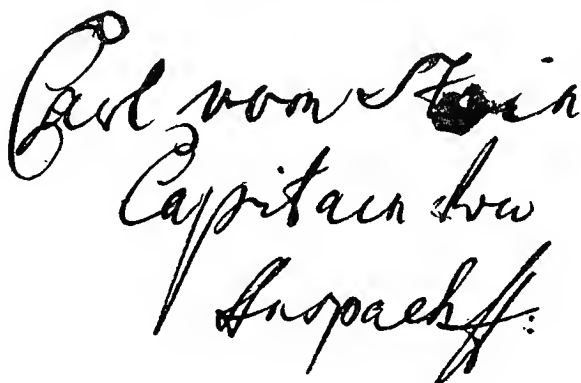
IN the French service under Rochambeau there were many German soldiers, and Rattermann in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, Vol. 13, 1881, gives an account of them, notably the Zweibrücken Regiment, of which two Princes or Counts of that name were respectively Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel. It is worth noting that Lafayette wrote to Washington of a visit to them in

Zweibrücken long after the American war, when he met "Old Knyp" and officers who had served both with and against him there. There was a battalion from Trier in the Saintonge Regiment under Custine, like himself from Lothringen. There were Alsacians and Lothringers in light companies attached to the Bourbonnais and Soissonais Regiments. There were many Germans in the Duke de Lauzun's Cavalry Legion, whose names are printed from the records preserved in Harrisburg. In the army

that made part of d'Estaing's expedition against Savannah, in the autumn of 1779, there was an "Anhalt" Regiment, 600 strong; of individual German officers with Rochambeau, there were Count Fersen, his chief of staff, Freiherr Ludwig von Closen Haydenburg, his Adjutant, Captain Gau, his Chief of Artillery, and a Strasburg Professor Lutz, his interpreter. The Count of Zwei Brücken (Deux Ponts), published his *American Campaigns* in Paris in 1786, and his pamphlet was translated and reprinted by Dr. Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Count Stedingk and Count Fersen both took service with Sweden, the latter to fall a victim to a popular outbreak, the former to take part in the Peace of Paris in 1814.

Von Closen returned to Europe, became an officer of the household of Marie Antoinette, and died in 1830, at Zwei-brücken. Custine rose to high command in the French Revolution, only to end his days on the guillotine; his biography has been printed both in French and German. Rattermann thinks at least one third of Rochambeau's army at Yorktown consisted of Germans, Alsacians, Lothringers and Swiss. Gen. Weedon, he says, was born in Hanover, served in the Austrian War, 1742-1781, and for his services at Dettingen was promoted first to Ensign and next to Lieutenant, coming in that rank to America in the Royal American Regiment under Bouquet. He became a Captain in the Third Virginia and Colonel of the First Virginia, and later a Brigadier General of the Continental Army. The Germans under Ewald were driven back by the Germans under Armand at Gloucester, Va., and in the siege of Yorktown, Deux Ponts led his Germans in the attack on a redoubt defended by Hessians, and at several points commands were given on both sides in German. Washington and the King of France both commended the

valor of the Zweibrücken Regiment. German soldiers held the trenches on both sides when the surrender was finally made. German regiments under the French and American flags received the surrender of German regiments Anspach and Hessian, serving under the British flag, and the officers and men joined in warm greetings; the Anspachers offered to serve with their countrymen in Lauzun's Legion, an offer declined as a violation of the terms of capitulation. The German novelist, Sealsfield, in his story *Morton*, Stuttgart, 1844, describes Steuben's



Carl von Stein
Captain von
Anspach.

AUTOGRAPH OF CAPTAIN CARL VON STEIN.

share in this crowning victory. Mr. Julius F. Sachse has drawn from his store of material, a letter written by the Duke of Brunswick on February 8, 1783, to General Riedesel, in view of the return of his force to Germany, in which he says that as not half of his officers and subordinates can remain in active service at home, while many of them must be reduced in rank and more discharged altogether, all who can had better remain in America, as he would not burthen his people and his war budget with pensions for young and able-bodied men; he therefore

Ob das Korps Amerika's Boden verließ und zur Rückkehr bei Quebeck eingeschifft wurde, hatte der Herzog C. W. F. an den General v. Riedesel Nachstehendes erlassen:

Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Herzog &c. Ob Wir zwar Unsern Generalmajor v. Riedesel schon unterm 23sten Decbr. 1780 mit der nöthigen Vorschrift versehen haben, wie er sich bei erfolgendem Frieden und Rückmarsche der seinem Kommando anvertrauten Truppen zu verhalten habe, so finden Wir doch nicht für überflüssig, da dieser Zeitpunkt nunmehr wirklich eingetreten ist, demselben in Wiedererinnerung zu bringen, daß Unsere Absichten schon in sich selbst erweisen, daß bei weitem nicht die Hälfte von denen jetzt vorhandenen Officiers und Unterofficiers in Activität

bleiben können, sondern der größte Theil reducirt werden müsse, wenn nicht Viele derselben sich entschließen sollten, entweder sich dorten zu etabliren, oder bei ihrer Zurückkunft den Abschied zu nehmen, um ihr Glück andernwärts zu suchen. Denn ob Wir Uns gleich nicht entäußern werden, alten und treu gedienten Officiers und Andern eine billig mäßige Pension auszusetzen, so sind Wir hingegen auch nicht gemeint, junge und rührige Leute zum Ruin Unserer Kriegescasse mit einem Wartegelde zu vinculiren, um sie dadurch der Zeit und Gelegenheit zu berauben, ihr Glück andernwärts zu suchen, sondern Wir wollen ihnen lieber zu desto geschwinderer Beförderung desselben etwas aufopfern. Unser Generalmajor v. Riedesel wird demnach hiedurch authorisirt, nicht allein so viele Officiers, als dorten verbleiben wollen, und wenn es auch Staabs-officiers wären, zu entlassen, und mit Interims-Abschieden, welche nach eingefandtem Berichte von Uns selbst vollzogen sofort ausgewechselt werden sollen, zu versehen, sondern auch, daß sie die Verabschiedung verlangen mögen, selbige nach Möglichkeit und allenfalls mit Verwilligung einer 6 monatlichen Gage, die ihnen aus der Regimentscasse ausbezahlen, zu disponiren.

Die Unterofficiers und Gemeinen betreffend, so mögen von den Erstern, so viel immer wollen, zurückbleiben, da sonst die jüngsten oder überzähligen

ORDER RELATIVE TO THE RETURN OF THE BRUNSWICK TROOPS, ISSUED FEBRUARY 8, 1783, BY DUKE CARL WILHELM FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

derselben, welche ihr Alter und Invalidität zur Pension nicht berechtigt, sich werden gefallen lassen müssen, wie-der so lange als Gemeine zu dienen, bis sie nach und nach wieder avanciren können oder ihren Abschied erhalten. Die Gemeinen von der Infanterie marschiren höchstens zu 50, und die Dragoner zu 36 Mann — à Kompagnie — ein, welches vorzüglich Einländer seyn müssen. Jedoch ist den übrigen, welche in ihr Vaterland wieder zurückkehren und von dem freien Transporte profitiren wollen, die Rückkehr nicht zu verwehren; nur bleiben von solcher die Delinquenten und Verbrecher, wovon Unserm Generalmajor v. Kiedeser bei Absendung einiger Transporte namentliche Verzeichnisse zu gefertigt sind, nach wie vor ausgeschloffen. Wie denn auch diejenigen, so sich durch außerordentliche Ruchlosigkeit und schwere Verbrechen oder andere lächerliche Streiche während ihres dortigen Aufenthaltes ausgezeichnet haben, oder auch körperlicher Gebrechen halber zum Dienste unfähig geworden, gänzlich zurück zu lassen sind.

Sollten auch von den annoch vorhandenen Feldpredigern, Auditeurs, Regiments-, Staabs- und Kompagniechirurgen dorten ihr Unterkommen finden, oder ihr Glück annoch suchen wollen, so ist ihnen dazu der Weg auf keine Weise zu versperren, sondern ihnen allen,

so viele ihrer sind, der Abschied zu ertheilen.

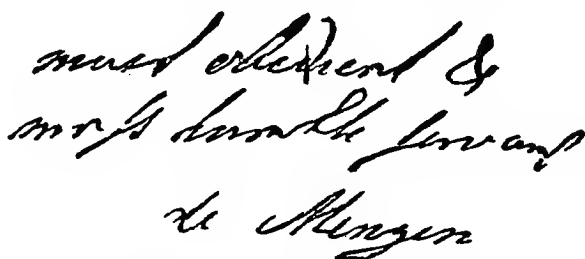
Braunschweig, den 8ten Febr. 1783.

C. W. F. H. v. B. u. L.

v. P r a u n.

Nach der Bekanntmachung dieses Erlasses in Amerika nahmen einige wenige junge Officiere, wie auch ein Feldprediger u. s. w. ihren Abschied vom Korps, und verblieben dort; und alle die Soldaten, die wegen Diebereien und Desertionen Regimentsstrafen erlitten, oder sonst sich leichtsinnig und ausschweifend betragen hatten, wurden von der Rückkehr abgewiesen und dort gelassen; und ihrer waren nicht Wenige. Hierzu die daselbst und auf der Seefahrt Verstorbenen gerechnet, so läßt sich folgern, daß das 1776 ausmarschirte Korps ziemlich zusammen geschmolzen zurückgekommen sey.

authorizes and recommends the discharge of officers, especially those of the staff, with six months pay out of the regimental funds: non-commissioned officers, too, should be encouraged to take their discharge and stay in America, so that the companies may be reduced to 50 in the infantry and 36 in the dragoons, and these must all be natives of Brunswick; all men under punishment, or charged with offences or physically unfitted, are to be left behind. Chaplains, pay-masters, surgeons, etc., who can make their living in America, were recommended to stay here; in this way, and with those who died in the service or deserted, the force returning to Brunswick was greatly reduced. This letter is printed in the *Brunswick Maga-*

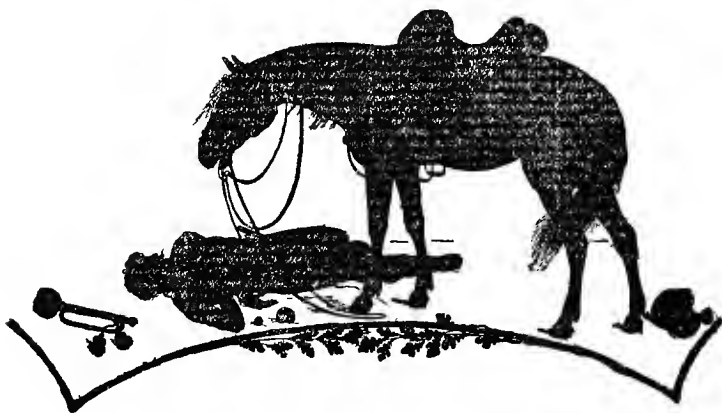
A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "must obediently & most devotedly remain
de Mengén". The ink is dark and the handwriting is fluid and personal.

AUTOGRAPH OF LIEUT. COL. V. MENGÉN.

zine of June 4, 1825; the same and earlier numbers contain extracts from Papet's Diary, which was then in possession of his son-in law, Captain Heusler, in Brunswick. It was not until April 29, 1783, that peace was officially proclaimed to the troops, and they sailed from Quebec on August 1 for a six weeks' voyage home.

Papet says that the deserters had a price put on their heads, and many of them were arrested and brought back, so that the Duke's orders were not very literally obeyed. On their return to Brunswick the Division was reduced to

an Infantry Regiment of two Battalions, and a small Dragoon Regiment. Among them were some black men enlisted by General Riedesel as drummers. Until 1806 the Dragoons served as guard of the palace — a sort of recognition of their services. Riedesel named one daughter “Canada,” she died in Canada; and another “America” who died in 1856. Eelking adds to his *Life of Riedesel* a list of officers, and among them Chaplain Melsheimer figures as a deserter, in 1779; while Paymaster Thomas remained in America after the Peace of 1783, and so did Lt. v. Reizenstein, Lt. v. Konig, Ensign Langerjahn, Ensign Kolte, Lt. Bielstein, Lt. Conradi, Lt. v. Puiseger, and Ensign Specht, while some of those reported “deserters” and “missing,” no doubt remained in America.

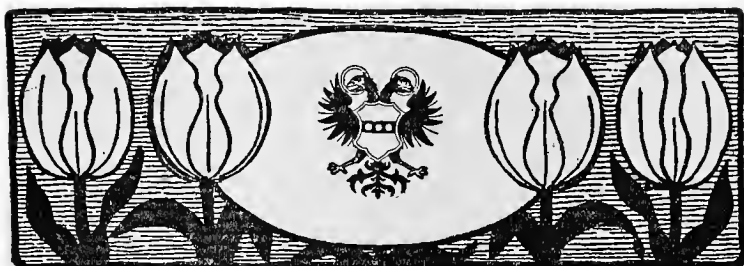


AUF FREMDEN BODEN. BRANDYWINE, SEPTEMBER 17, 1777.

AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



Riedesel



CHAPTER V.

MAJOR-GENERAL V. RIEDESEL.



IT is curious that in Riedesel's *Life*, with its voluminous correspondence with the Duke of Brunswick, there is no mention of the letter recommending that his officers and men should be encouraged to remain in America. It looks very much as if Eelking thought it indiscreet to print it, as likely to invite hostile criticism, a caution that does not seem to have de-

tered the editor of the *Brunswick Magazine* in 1825, a time when the censor kept a sharp eye on any thing that might lessen the respect for the Landesvater. In its way it fully justifies Franklin's clever skit at the Elector of Hesse in the fictitious letter to his commander in America. There must still remain in Marburg and Cassel and Berlin and Brunswick, and in the private families of Germany, much interesting and valuable material, throwing light on the Germans who served under the British flag in the war of

American Independence. Is it not well worth while to get a complete descriptive catalogue of the papers in the Marburg Archives? The expense would not be great, and that once secured, it would not be difficult to have similar catalogues made for other public collections. In the meantime efforts could be made to print such items of these catalogues as are new, and to enlist the help of private owners of papers of the kind in securing copies to use in printing in part or in whole for historical students.

There is no better example of the interest in such material than the letters of Mme. Riedesel. They first became known to English readers through portions of them printed by Gen. Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, and reprinted in Silliman's *Tour in Canada*.

The original edition was intended only for the family, and General Riedesel himself died before it appeared. His widow survived until 1808. Her daughters "Canada" and "America," perpetuate in their names their place of birth. The only son died in 1854 and with a grandson the last of the family ended. Americans will always find interest in Mme. Riedesel's simple narrative of her life here. Madam Riedesel's *Letters* were first issued in 1799 in a privately printed edition for the family and their friends, and regularly published in 1800. The latest German edition is that published in Tübingen in 1881, in which the letters of Riedesel, together with brief biographies of husband and wife, and an account of their children are given. It is stated in the preface that of the 4,300 Brunswick soldiers led by Riedesel from Germany to America, only 2,600 returned home with him. Of the 1,700 lost to their native country, many were of course a gain for America. Riedesel died on January 5, 1800, after a harsh experience in the Napoleonic wars.

General Stryker in the appendix to his *History of the Battle of Trenton* prints (p. 396) the pretended letter from the Elector of Hesse in which there is mention of the losses at Trenton, and (p. 401) General Heister's report of that battle, and (p. 403) the real letter written by the Prince of Hesse to Knyphausen, dated Cassel, June 16, 1777, in which he speaks of the painful shock, and directs a Court of Inquiry to investigate and a court-martial to try those responsible, and another of April 23, 1779, insisting on a detailed explanation of the Captains, and others as to the finding of the original court. These proceedings continued until a final verdict was arrived at in New York in January, 1782, accompanied by a petition for mercy for those inculpated but surviving. Rall and Dechow had paid the penalty with their lives. This was signed (among others) by Schlieffen in April, 1782, and thus that incident was closed by the Elector's pardon to the survivors, of the penalty imposed by the court-martial. The actual correspondence consisted of Gen. v. Heister's report, dated New York, January 5, 1777, answered by the Elector on April 7, regretting that Rall should have been entrusted with a post to which he was not entitled by seniority or service. That Kapp is mistaken in crediting the pretended letter of the Elector to Mirabeau, is best shown by comparing his wordy *Avis aux Hessois*, with the short, sharp, pungent letter that bears internal evidence of Franklin's master hand. Reprinted by Ford and Stryker and Bigelow and Tyler, it is easily accessible, while the *Avis aux Hessois* of Mirabeau is much less known, and may be of interest as one of the forgotten pamphlets of the man who later on played such a leading part in the French Revolution, yet failed to do for his country a tithe of the good that Franklin did for America. Still, it must not be forgotten that

General Stryker in the 8th edition of his *History of the Battle of Trenton* prints (p. 10) the poster and lets the Elector of Hesse in, which there is no mention of at Trenton, and (p. 104) the Hessian's march to the battle, and (p. 105) the real order written by the Elector of Hesse to Knyphausen, dated Oct. 22, 1776, in which he speaks of the patriot attack on Fort Mifflin, of Inquiry to investigate and a court-martial of the responsible, and another of April 23, 1777, a detailed explanation of the Capture of Fort Mifflin to the King of Prussia. The poster is dated Oct. 22, 1776, and the march to the battle is dated Oct. 22, 1776.

Tyler, *Library of Congress*.
Mirabeau is much less known
one of the forgotten patriots
played such a leading part
needed to do for his country.
land of America. Still, it

AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



FRIEDRICH II.

B. AUG. 14, 1720; D. OCT. 31, 1785.

LANDGRAF VDN HESSEN.

THE GERMAN RULER WHO SOLD 17,000 HESSIANS TO THE BRITISH FOR 22 MILLIONS
OF THALER FOR SERVICE AGAINST THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

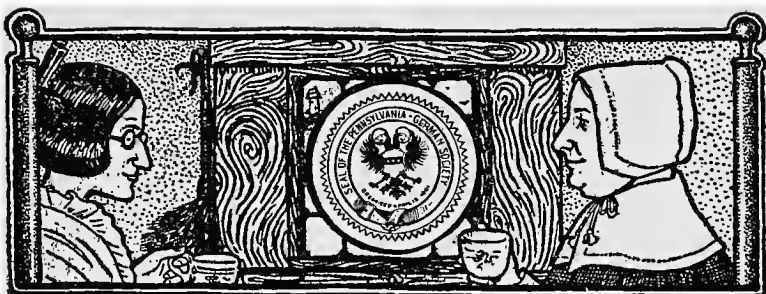
COURTESY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mirabeau was one of the earliest French advocates of American independence, and that his *Avis aux Hessois* was a warning note, the opening of a war of words, of a long drawn out battle of pamphlets, in which the American cause was fought for by French allies on the one side, and on the other by Germans in the pay of English and Hessian authorities. Undoubtedly Mirabeau's influence led Beaumarchais to his busy efforts to supply men and provisions and munitions of war for the American cause, culminating largely, no doubt through Franklin's efforts, in the alliance which played so great a part in the final result.

Of even greater value, however, is Schiller's eloquent protest in his *Kabale und Liebe* against the sale of German soldiers to Great Britain to be used against America. Frederick the Great denounced his cousin of Hesse for selling his subjects to the English as one sells cattle to be dragged to the shambles. Napoleon made it one of his reasons for overthrowing the house of Hesse Cassel and making the country part of the Kingdom of Westphalia over which his brother reigned. Lowell praises Mirabeau's pamphlet as an eloquent protest against the rapacity of the German princes, who sold their subjects to Great Britain, and a splendid tribute to the patriotism of the Americans. Fortunately the large number of Germans who served in the American army on the patriot side, from Steuben and De Kalb down to the humblest soldiers, greatly helped to secure American independence. Although Franklin's letter is printed in both Ford and Bigelow's *Lives and Works of Franklin*, it may be of interest to reproduce the original French, and the pamphlet by Mirabeau, *Avis aux Hessois*, the first of a long series of pamphlets including those by Schlieffen on the German side, and by Raynal on the American side, for in their day these were most

effective weapons in that war of pamphlets and books, which greatly strengthened the American cause abroad. The originals are in the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library, part of the wealth of original papers and pamphlets and books collected by Mr. Bancroft as material for his history and now owned by the Lenox Library. Their free use for students of American history is one of the advantages of this present generation.





CHAPTER VI.

AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN SOURCES.



THE recent publication in a German translation of Lowell's "Hessians" marks the change of German sentiment towards America. The translator, Major von Verschuer, formerly a member of the German General Staff, in his preface calls attention to the successive changes of opinion as to the hiring of the troops of one country for pay and service in another.

Both Germany and Switzerland had done this very thing from early times, witness the Swiss Guard in France, the Papal Guard in Rome, the German troops in English service, in suppressing the Stuart rising in 1745, and in other parts of the British Empire. It was the outbreak of liberal ideals preceding the French Revolution, with its flood of new ideas, that first led to honest denunciation of the employment of German hirelings by England in America. Major von Verschuer pays tribute to the services of Frederick Kapp and Edward J. Lowell for their historical re-

search and their collection for the first time in an orderly way of the facts relating to the German troops sent to this country by England. Whatever the crimes of their princes, officers and men did their duty, and undoubtedly Germany owes much of its rise in greatness, in its fierce struggle against Napoleon, to the lessons learned by its involuntary representatives who had served in America. To-day Major von Verschuër is heartily thanked by the leading German historical reviews for making Lowell's book known and accessible in translation to German readers, as throwing a new light on German history of the eighteenth century by its careful summary of the treaties by which the German princes hired their soldiers to Great Britain to prevent American independence. They were not only "Hessians," for Brunswick and Anspach and Bayreuth and Anhalt and Waldeck also sent their soldiers. Riedesel the well-known General, whose wife's letters are among the most interesting productions of personal experience during our Revolutionary War, was a Brunswicker. The Hessians, however, came in larger number than any of the others, and their General Knyphausen, as commander of the whole German force, naturally attracted attention to his division of Hessians, and just as naturally "Hessian" was the name given to all the German soldiers serving in the British Army here. Frederick the Great spoke very contemptuously of his Hessian cousin for selling his soldiers to England, but then Frederick of Prussia was angry with Frederick of Hesse for refusing to sell him troops, so that his virtuous indignation was not without some personal resentment of his own.

Brunswick sent five thousand seven hundred and twenty-three men, of whom three thousand and fifteen did not return home. Hesse Cassel sent sixteen thousand nine

AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



WILHELM IX.

B. JAN. 9, 1743 ; D. JULY 27, 1821.

LANDGRAF VON HESSEN-HANAU, 1764-1785.

KURFÜRST VON HESSEN, 1785-1821.

IN 1776 HE SOLD THE HANAU REGIMENTS TO THE BRITISH FOR SERVICE AGAINST
THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

COURTESY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

hundred and ninety-two, of whom six thousand five hundred did not return. Hesse Hanau sent two thousand four hundred and twenty-two, of whom nine hundred and eighty-one did not return. Anspach Bayreuth sent two thousand five hundred and fifty-three, of whom one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight did not return. Waldeck sent one thousand two hundred and twenty-five, of whom seven hundred and twenty did not return. Anhalt Zerbst sent one thousand one hundred and fifty-two, of whom one hundred and sixty-eight did not return. The whole number of these German soldiers sent to America from 1776 to 1782 reached a total of thirty thousand and sixty-seven, and of these twelve thousand five hundred and sixty-two did not return. The loss by death was seven thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, so that there was a balance of four thousand eight hundred and eight who remained in America and helped to swell the large accession of Germans in their new home. Undoubtedly too they, as well as the soldiers who returned home, helped to pave the way for the rapid increase of emigration from Germany to America, which was so marked a feature in the growth and development of the new nation, for Germany sent its representatives to every part of the United States.

To-day Germany, from the Emperor down, takes pride in the good record made by the German soldiers in America, and Major von Verschuer is receiving high and well-deserved commendation for bringing out, in his translation of Lowell's "*Hessians*," the gallantry of German soldiers and officers in their long and arduous campaigns in America. The unfortunate result of the attack on Fort Mercer at Red Bank is particularly dwelt on as an example of German heroism, for Donop, who commanded

the attacking force and fell at its head, in vain asked the English General for more artillery, and when it was refused with a sneer, went into action in obedience to orders which he knew must bring failure. Still it was a lesson of value in tactics, and it was learned in a way that did great honor to the Hessians for their blind obedience to commands, even wrong ones. The Germans learned from the Americans the value of sharpshooters, and applied this lesson with profit in the reorganization of their own army in their long struggle to free their country from the tyranny of Napoleon. Naturally too the German staff in its collection of all the material for German military history, welcomes the addition of Verschuer's translation of Lowell's "Hessians," for it makes known to the studious German officer of to-day the results of research in German archives that have hitherto been a sealed book alike to German and foreign students. No doubt before long German thoroughness will be applied to a reproduction from these German records of many valuable contributions to our history in the reports, journals, diaries, and letters of German officers and soldiers who served in this country in the American War of Independence.

If the Germans have something to learn from an American author of their soldiers in America, we Americans have much to learn from the Germans. Their maps were admirable, and one recently reproduced¹ was welcomed as a valuable addition to local history, for it gave the exact spot of several engagements in the operations around Whitemarsh that were nowhere so well recorded. Then too in the "Diaries" of Wiederhold and Popp, recently printed for the first time,² there are many facts of value

¹*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, April, 1902.

²*Ibid.*

and interest, the personal records of "our friends the enemy," through whose eyes we can now see very clearly what the other side looked at from their point of view. The recent revival of German interest in America is well attested in the timely publication of Verschuer's translation of Lowell's "Hessians" and in the attention paid to it by German journals.

The value and interest of Major von Verschuer's translation of Lowell's book may best be found in the fact that a second edition has been called for—an honor not paid to the original, although it has for some years been appreciated by our own historical students. Perhaps when a new "historical novel" is constructed out of the material gathered in its pages (and we commend Madame von Riedesel as a heroine, with the two Newport ladies who married Hessian officers and lived and died in Germany), the "Hessians" may awaken interest enough in the American public to secure for Lowell's exhaustive researches the same interest here that has been shown at once in Germany, in historical and literary and military journals, in the translation which makes Lowell's name better known in Germany than in his own country. He died long before receiving his reward for his labors.

Edward J. Lowell, whose "Hessians in America" has been translated into German, is the subject of a memoir by A. Lawrence Lowell in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1895" (Second Series, Vol. IX.). He was born in Boston in 1845, graduated at Harvard in 1867, collected material from the Archives in Germany, printed reports in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society" and in the *New York Times* that afterwards supplied much of the material for his book. Later in 1892 he published a book, "The Eve

of the French Revolution," which showed his thorough knowledge of that field of historical research. He died in 1894, leaving unfinished much material that he had gathered for further works. He was a contributor of valuable articles, mostly on historical subjects, to *Scribner's*, the *Atlantic*, and other periodicals. He was a careful student and a sound historian, and his book well deserves the unusual compliment of translation into German and publication in Germany.

"The Hessians and the other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War," by Edward J. Lowell, New York, 1884, pp. 328, is the full title of the book that first and best gave the accurate details of the Hessians and other Germans who served under the British flag. This is the book that has recently been translated into German by Major von Verschuer, under the title of "Die Hessen nach dem Englischen von Edward J. Lowell, von O. C. Freiherrn von Verschuer, Major z. D. Brunswick und Leipsic: Verlag von Richard Sattler, 1901, pp. 250."

Another important source of contemporary information is in the Riedesel letters — those of the wife of the General of the Brunswick troops serving here. With their children she was his companion in his campaigns and during his imprisonment after Burgoyne's surrender. The letters were first privately printed in Berlin in 1799, then in successive editions in Germany and in America, so that they are now easily accessible. "The Memoirs, Letters and Journals of General Riedesel," translated from the German of Von Eelking by William L. Stone, were published in Albany in 1868 by Munsell in two volumes.

The story of Madame Riedesel's letters is characteristic. Printed in Berlin in 1801 — an earlier edition was pri-

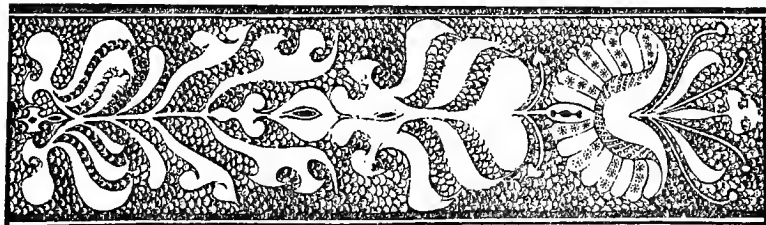
AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



N^{ro}
Ingalum Vinnam de Affidat
neo de. Hesper

vately printed for the family only in 1799 — they were frequently reprinted in Germany, and in a very complete edition in 1881 by Mohr in Freiburg and Tübingen. These letters first became known to English readers through portions of them printed by General Wilkinson in his “Memoirs,” and reprinted in Silliman’s “Tour to Canada in 1819,” Hartford, 1820, and in a second edition in 1824, and in full in 1827. Stone printed through Munsell of Albany his translation of the letters of Madame Riedesel in 1867, a much fuller and more satisfactory edition than that published in 1827 in Hartford.

“The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, 1776 to 1783,” by Max von Eelking, translated and abridged from the bulky German original in two volumes published in Hanover in 1863, was published by Munsell in Albany in 1893. Von Eelking also published in Leipzig in 1854 the “Correspondence of General von Riedesel,” and in 1856 his “Life and Writings of Riedesel” in three volumes, full of interest and importance for the light it throws on the details of the service of the Brunswick troops in their campaigns in America.





CHAPTER VII.

FRANKLIN IN GERMANY.



FRANKLIN wrote on June 13, 1766, from London to his wife: "To-morrow I set out with my friend, Dr. (now Sir John) Pringle, on a journey to Pyrmont, where he goes to drink the waters. We must be back at furthest in eight weeks. I purpose to leave him at Pyrmont and visit some of the principalities nearest to it, and call for him again when the time

for our return draws nigh."¹ In the collection of Franklin Papers at the American Philosophical Society is the original or perhaps retained copy (how did busy men find time then to keep copies of even their letters to their wives?) of this letter, and another of October 11, in which he writes to his wife: "I received your kind letter of

¹ Sparks's Franklin, Vol. VII., p. 320.

August 26. Scarce anyone else wrote to me by that opportunity. I suppose they imagin'd I should not be returned from Germany"; and on December 13: "I wonder you had not heard of my return from Germany. I wrote by the August packet and by a ship from Holland just as I was coming over."

When Francis Hopkinson, son of Franklin's friend, reached London late in July, 1766, to begin his studies at the Temple, he found that Franklin was in Germany, and he had to wait his return before he could advise his father of the kindly welcome given him, due perhaps as much to his own success at the College of Philadelphia as to his father's recommendation. Franklin was very proud of the college, largely his work, and of the remarkable young men who, with Hopkinson, belonged to its first graduates. Sparks says in a note on p. 326 of Vol. VII. of his "Franklin's Works"; "Franklin had recently made a tour in Germany, accompanied by Sir John Pringle, as intimated in a preceding letter. He visited Hannover, Göttingen, and some of the other principal cities and universities, and received many flattering attentions from distinguished persons. The following letter affords a favorable testimony of the estimation in which he was held by learned men in Germany." The original Latin is printed in Sparks; the following is a rough translation:

"*S. P. D. John Frederick Hartmann to Dr. Franklin.*

"Often the pleasant recollection returns of the day I saw you and talked with you for the first time. I regret extremely that I had neither time nor opportunity to show you electrical experiments worthy of you. Do not think I was at all to blame. Prince Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, with whom I have had much correspondence, counted on meeting you on your visit to Germany, and regrets that he could not see you at Göttingen, and sends you his greetings. He reached Göttingen on the very day you left it and thus lost the hope of seeing you. Meantime a German prince asks me to put up lightning rods on his estates, and I ask you for a precise description of your plans in America. You shall have all the credit and honor. I want to complete as far as I can a history of electricity, and as yours is the first name on that subject, I hope to give an account worthy of your experiments."

Dated with the usual compliments, "Hannover, 1777, Calends of October."

Parton says in his "Franklin" (Vol. 1., p. 492): "Sir John Pringle was the Queen's physician and one of Franklin's most intimate companions," and (p. 506) "probably through him Franklin found means to forward papers to the King," and (p. 523) through him Franklin presented to the Queen a sample of American silk grown in Pennsylvania. He also (p. 533) refers to their journey together in Holland and (p. 552) to his first visit in Paris with Sir John Pringle. Hale's "Franklin and France" says (Vol. I., p. 3): "The year before [1766] Franklin and Sir John Pringle had travelled together very pleasantly in the Netherlands and Germany. In 1767 they paid a six weeks' visit to Paris." Bigelow in his "Franklin's Works" (Vol. III., p. 468), after giving Franklin's letter to his wife of June 13, 1766, says: "It is much to be regretted that we have no journal or any satisfactory account of Dr. Franklin's visit to the Continent this summer. He seems to have made no notes, and to have written no letters during his absence, which are calculated in the least to satisfy our curiosity. We have, however, a glimpse of him and of his companion while at Göttingen, which illustrates the very distinguished and durable impression made in whatsoever society he appeared." In the "Biography of John D. Michaelis," p. 102, occurs the following statement, which was translated from the fly-leaf of a volume in the Huntington collection of Frankliniana in the Metropolitan Museum of New York: "In the summer of 1766 I had the opportunity of making two agreeable acquaintances. Pringle and Franklin came to Göttingen, and were presented to me by student Münchhausen. I once had a curious conversation with Franklin at the table, when he

dined with me. We talked much about America, about the savages, the rapid growth of the English colonies, the growth of the population, its duplication in twenty-five years, etc. I said that when I was in London in 1741 I might have learned more about the condition of the Colonies by English books and pamphlets, had I then thought seriously of what I had even then expressed to others, that they would one day release themselves from England. People laughed at me, but still I believed it. He answered me with his earnest and expressive face: 'Then you were mistaken. The Americans have too much love for their mother country.' I said, 'I believe it, but almighty interest would soon outweigh that love or extinguish it altogether.' He could not deny that this was possible, but secession was impossible, for all the American towns of importance, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, could be destroyed by bombardment. This was unanswerable. I did not then suspect that I was speaking to the man who, a few years later, outraged in England, would take such an active part in the accomplishment of my contradicted prophecy." To this was appended the following note, presumably by student Münchhausen: "At that time I was studying in Göttingen, and had the opportunity of knowing both men. I remember well that Franklin, and I know not wherefore, was much more interesting to me than Pringle. Just in that summer also Lessing came to Göttingen. He, our otherwise great countryman, was far from pleasing me as well as both these Englishmen. These Britons, decried for their pride, were very sociable and well informed. The German, on the contrary, was very haughty and controversial."

Bigelow also adds the story, told in Hale's "Franklin," that Pringle resigned the presidency of the Royal Society

rather than yield to the King's wish in a matter in which the King was wrong in his desire to forward the interests of a favored friend at the expense of that venerable scientific body.

The "Life of Sir John Pringle," by Andrew Kippis, prefaced to six of his discourses, London, 1783, attests Franklin's wise choice and good fortune in having such a friend and fellow-traveller. We meet Michaelis in "The American Revolution and German Literature," by John A. Walz, Harvard University, reprinted from *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XVI., Baltimore, 1901. He says: "John D. Michaelis, the great Orientalist, met Franklin at Göttingen in 1766, and in his autobiography speaks very pleasantly about his American acquaintance." Michaelis was very glad, however, to get his son an appointment as surgeon with the Hessian division of soldiers sent to America by the British government when the Revolutionary War was being waged, for the pay was very good and he was promised employment for life on his return. When his wife met her husband on his return from his American expedition, she wrote home of the wretched spectacle of the troops shipped to America, and her contempt for the Elector who sold his people to get money with which to build palaces and provide for his extravagant way of living in them.

In a Doctor's Thesis by an American we find mention of Franklin in Germany. "The Relation of German Publicists to the American war of Independence, 1775-1783. Inaugural Dissertation for the Doctor's Degree of the Philosophic Faculty of the University of Leipsic, submitted by Herbert P. Gallinger, Amherst, Massachusetts, Leipsic, 1900," is a pamphlet in German of seventy-seven pages, with an additional page giving the details of Dr.

Gallinger's life. On p. 8, etc., he says: "Franklin visited Germany in 1766, and in Göttingen, where he met Achenwall and Schlözer, awakened interest for the Colonies." In a foot-note he adds: "Achenwall published in the *Hannoverian Magazine*, beginning of 1767, p. 258, etc., 'Some Observations on North America and the British Colonies, from verbal information furnished by Mr. B. Franklin.'" At the close, the struggle between the mother country and the colonies is described entirely from the American point of view. It is clear that Achenwall was convinced by Franklin. In closing he says: "I doubt not that other men of learning in this country have used their acquaintance with this honored man [Franklin] as well as I. Could they be persuaded to give the public their noteworthy conversation with him, it would be doing the public a great benefit." These observations were reprinted twice, in 1769 at Frankfurt and Stuttgart, and in 1777 at Helmstedt. They appear to be the only account of the dispute over the constitutional questions at issue in America in the German language published before 1776.

Mr. Gallinger's Thesis gives quite an exhaustive account of the later publications in Germany on the American struggle for independence, and supplies too the names of many men famous in German Literature who heartily supported the American side. At Cassel, the capital of the Elector of Hesse, who sent the largest contingent of German soldiers to America to fight for the British supremacy, there was a group of writers defending the American right to appeal to arms. A succession of serial publications by Archenholz and Schlözer and other Göttingen professors, who had met Franklin there ten years before the outbreak of the Revolution, gave in full the

official and other papers issued by Americans and their friends in England and on the Continent, even more fully than those of the English Government and its defenders. Brunswick too, whence the next largest body of soldiers, under Riedesel, came to America, had writers and publishers ready to defend the cause of the Americans. Great Britain employed German pamphleteers to justify its treatment of the rebellious colonies. Schlözer printed letters from America written in 1757, predicting the subsequent struggle and attributing the outbreak of the Revolution to the prohibition of the coasting trade, and its continuance to ambitious factions, not a majority of the people. Franklin's influence, even with the Göttingen professors and publicists, was not powerful and enduring enough to prevent most of them from taking the side of the British government in their writings.

The close relation between the Hanoverian government and that of Great Britain, the King himself Elector of Hanover, may well account for the line taken by his Göttingen professors, for it was a time of personal government in both countries, and the wish of the German sovereign was absolute with all his subjects. From Berlin, sometimes under the pseudonym of Philadelphia, came pamphlets favoring the American cause, while Hamburg and Frankfurt published works on America of all sorts of political views. One author said that Franklin spoke with true insight of the American cause. Others referred to his published writings as of the highest authority. Translations of his scientific and other papers were published in Germany, where his name and fame were familiar.

Berlin at that time had two newspapers, which appeared every other day, each of four octavo pages, and in both of them there was a strong tone of sympathy for the American



FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

FROM A COPPERPLATE, AFTER A DRAWING BY L. C. DE CARMONTELLE.

cause and hope for its success. The English too had, of course, their organs and agencies in Germany, but they were mostly limited to a republication of official reports and legal arguments in support of the mother country.



The Americans had on their side the poets, who sang away lustily in their behalf. Schlözer, one of the leading editors of news of and about the American struggle, and strongly in favor of British rule, claimed that the whole loss of German soldiers sold for service in America was only eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-three. Kapp corrects this and makes it twelve thousand five hundred and sixty-two from official data, and the little difference shows that Schlözer must have had access to them too.

No sooner was the war over, than Sprengel, professor in Halle, published its history, in 1784, and it was reprinted in that and the following years in frequent editions. Berlin followed the hint of Frederick the Great in showing hostility to England by expressions of friendship for America. Kant sympathized with America, and at Königsberg in 1782 was issued a book that radically justified the Revolution. Assuming its success, the German publicists gave a great deal of attention to the industrial results of independence and foresaw the advantages sure to spring from it. Perhaps the most important book was Moser's "*America After the Peace of 1783*," in three volumes, Leipsic, 1784, mostly geographical and statistical details, but in it the learned Professor gravely charges Franklin and his associates with perjury towards the mother country. Of course, the question of public opinion in a country so subdivided as Germany then was is quite unlike that which exists to-day, yet it is clear that in spite of the influence of professors and editors largely enlisted from one motive or another in support of the English cause, there was a strong and lively sympathy for that of America. Perhaps a knowledge of the Germans sent against them may have justified their hope of a favorable result—at least Freneau's version of Rivington's "*Last Will*" shows the popular opinion, confirmed by current report, in America :

"To Baron Knyphausen, his heirs and assigns,
I bequeath my old Hock and my Burgundy wines.
To a true Hessian drunkard, no liquors are sweeter,
And I know the old man is no foe to the creature."

The German commander who fell at Trenton, Colonel Rahl, was notorious for his love of the table, and his neg-

ligence to insure the safety of his post is attributed to his plentiful potations on Christmas Eve.

A recent paper by Walz, of Harvard, attests the influence of Franklin in Germany. Klopstock and Herder, Jacobi and Heyne, Schiller and Goethe, all praise him.

Lafayette in a letter to Franklin, written in 1786, tells him that in a recent tour in Germany a thousand questions were asked about Franklin. Numerous applications were made to him for commissions in the American army, and his failure to secure them no doubt sharpened the attacks on him. Schlözer, who had met Franklin in Göttingen, counted himself fortunate in profiting by public interest in his publications on the struggle between England and America.

The story of the German soldier sent by his sovereign to America, of life there, and of the return home is told in many versions by contemporary dramatists, from Schiller in his "Kabale und Liebe," through a long list gathered by Walz in his exhaustive paper. Some of them make quite a feature of the American wives brought to Germany by German officers. There are at least two families of Newport, R. I., who still keep in touch with their German kinsfolk, descendants of the marriage of two Newport

August Ludwig Schlözer's
Professors in Göttingen
der kais. Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in St.
Petersburg, der königl. Schwedischen in Stockholm, und
der kurfürstl. Bayrischen in München, Mitglieder

Briefwechsel

meist
historischen und politischen
Inhalts

Erster Theil, Heft I-VI,
1776.



Vierte Auflage.

Göttingen,
im Verlage der Wundtenhorstischen Buchhandlung
1780.

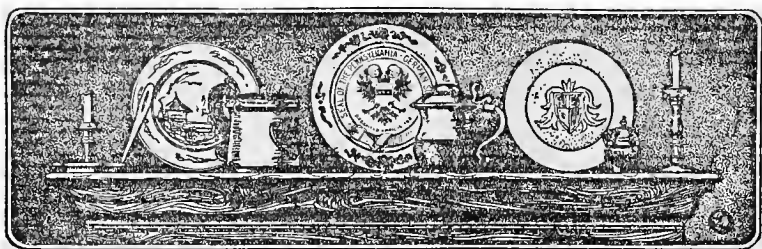
girls to our friends the enemy, and several Southern families have had the same extension of their foreign relations. The number of German soldiers remaining and marrying in this country must have been quite large, for there are many families of note thus descended from Hessians.



Franklin was too busy a man to make much reference to so brief an incident in his long and active life as his short and only visit to Germany. From it and through his intercourse with Göttingen professors, all men who contributed to and helped make what there was of public opinion in Germany, he undoubtedly influenced it, all unconsciously perhaps, and thus helped to make the judgment of the people and their rulers favorable to the Americans in their struggle for independence. Little as Frederick the Great liked liberty and rebellion to gain it, his hostility to the German princes who sold their soldiers to Great Britain, after refusing them to him, counted as a factor in favor of America both during the Revolutionary War and later. The treaty between Prussia and the United States was a valuable recognition of their right to enter the family of nations, and there can be little doubt that Franklin gladly saw in it one of the results of his visit to Germany, and of his influence upon German publicists. His own success in securing the powerful help of France by the Treaty of Alliance, which gave this country in its hour of need both men and money, and in making a treaty of peace with Great Britain, almost in spite of France, may well justify the belief that he too inspired the Ger-

mans with a desire to atone for their profitable alliance with Great Britain by an early recognition of the American Republic as soon as its independence was acknowledged.





CHAPTER VIII.

GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.



THE visit of Franklin in 1766, to the University of Göttingen, perhaps the first American of note there, has recently been much referred to. For many years all that was known of it was found in Sparks' "Franklin," where we see Franklin's letter to his wife, telling her of his intended visit, and a later letter reporting to her very briefly his return to

London. To it Sparks adds a Latin letter from one of the Göttingen professors, thanking him for his valuable suggestions on the study of electricity, and referring to his visit as a matter of great interest. Only recently an American, Dr. Gallinger, in his thesis for his Doctor's degree at Leipsic, gives extracts from the contemporary accounts of Franklin's short stay in Göttingen. Mr. L. Viereck, secretary of the newly organized union of old German students in America, in a later article gives a still more detailed account of Franklin's visit.¹

¹ *Americana Germanica.*

Franklin had a special interest in Germany, for as early as 1734 he published the first German newspaper issued in America, and from his press came a long series of publications in the German language. In 1766 he was famous for his electrical researches, and in Göttingen he was the guest of honor at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences. It was not until 1769 that Professor Achenwall, a noted publicist, reported in his journal, his conversation with Franklin during his visit to Göttingen, saying that Franklin quite denied Achenwall's anticipation that the colonies would soon attempt to secure independence, declaring that the people were too loyal, and the crown too powerful, for the English fleet could destroy all the American ports. Later other professors, Pütter and Michaelis, recorded their recollections of Franklin, the latter especially contrasting his kindly welcome of all who made his acquaintance, and the ill manners of Lessing, the great German author, then at the height of his fame as critic and dramatist. Franklin himself, so Viereck says, was greatly impressed by what he saw of a German University, and tried to bring some of the lessons he learned there into practical application in what is now the University of Pennsylvania. We know that he was practically the founder of the College of Philadelphia, and watched its growth from its earliest beginning, the proposed school of 1740, through the later stages of the academy of 1749, the college of 1751, the university of 1779, and the union of college and university under its present title in 1791.

Franklin, too, it is said in his eighty-first year, made the tiresome journey to Lancaster, to lay the corner stone of Franklin College, to which he made a gift of a thousand dollars, a proof of his strong interest in the plan of a higher educational establishment where Pennsylvania Germans could study in German.

The first American student in Germany was Benjamin Smith Barton, born in Lancaster in 1766—the year of Franklin's visit to Göttingen, where in 1789 Barton recorded his name first in the list of American students, took his degree in medicine in 1799, and on his return home became professor in the University of Pennsylvania, teaching here until 1815, and gaining honor as a member of the American Philosophical Society and by numerous publications. His thesis for his Göttingen Degree was published in German.¹

The brothers Mühlenberg were also educated in Germany, but this was largely due to the old association of their father and grandfather with Halle. The Göttingen list of American students shows only one in 1812, and from that time to 1851 only a few names, not fifty in all that period.

In the University of Berlin between 1825 and 1850, there were fifty-four Americans matriculated. There were sixteen at Halle between 1826 and 1849, and two at Leipzig between 1827 and 1846. Only one hundred and sixteen Americans were matriculated in German universities in the first half of the nineteenth century, but among them were Ticknor, Bancroft, Cogswell, Calvert, Longfellow, Motley and others of lesser fame, but all still helping to bring to the New World some share of the methods of learning in the universities of Germany.

¹ Dr. Barton's thesis for his Doctor's Degree from the University of Göttingen was published in German by Professor Zimmerman of Brunswick, Germany, as well as several of his later scientific contributions, and his *Elements of Botany* was republished in London and in Russian in St. Petersburg. He kept up an active correspondence with the leading German scientists and dedicated one of his memoirs to Professor Blumenbach of Göttingen. He aided Pursh, a German botanist, in his excursions through Virginia and Carolina, in preparing his *Flora Americana Septentrionalis*, and in return the German named a genus *Bartonia* after his friend.

During the whole period of American growth, Germans educated in German universities, were coming to this country, and Pastorius, Mühlenberg, Schlatter and Kunze were all living in or near Philadelphia.

Kunze was for years a professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Later came Henry Vethake, long a professor, and for some years vice-provost of the university, and then a long line of Americans who had studied in German universities, and were teaching at the university and in other institutions. Of late years on an average, seven hundred American students are matriculated annually in German universities. German university graduates are settled in large numbers in this country, engaged in many pursuits, but mainly in professional work and especially in that of education. The debt due to Germany for its share in the world's scientific research is freely acknowledged, and in philology, chemistry, philosophy, economics, we are still her debtors.

The great difference between the German universities and those of this country may be said to begin with their numbers. In Germany there are twenty-two universities, dating back as far as 1385, 1409, 1419, 1456, 1457, and on through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — many of them formed by the union of two or more of very early date, or as in Strasburg, where in 1872 a new university was established on an old foundation of 1621.

In this country the last report of the Commissioner of Education gives 480 colleges and universities for men and 128 for women. Germany has 9 technical schools, the United States, 151, and 96 law schools, with proportionately numerous theological, dental, pharmaceutical and other special schools. Starting with this enormous disparity in numbers, it is easy to see why the German university does its work thoroughly and well.

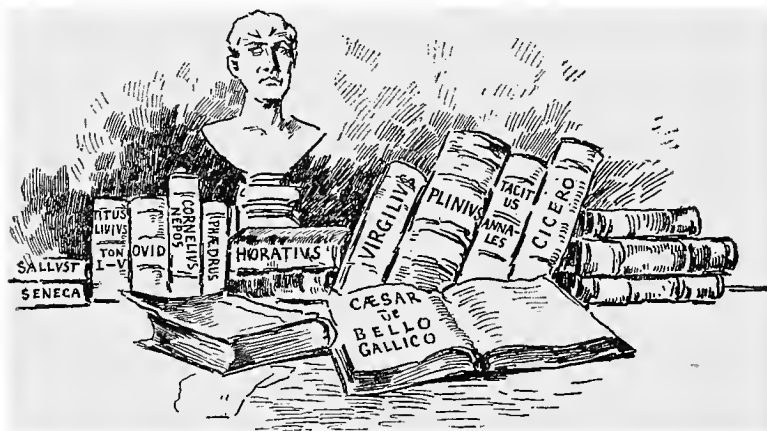
The German university is a government institution, and a degree earned by long years of hard study and severe examinations is the invariable condition of admission to the government service and to all the learned professions and pursuits. Of late years the government has greatly increased the amount expended on the universities, and especially on the technical and scientific schools and laboratories. Instruction is the only business of the German universities; dormitories are unknown; only one German university, Tübingen, has a small endowment for dormitories for Protestant students. A very small share of the endowment of early times is still used to provide for the expenses of poor students, but in the main the student has to provide his own board and lodging. Freedom to teach is the privilege of the faculty—freedom to learn, that of the students. There is very little prescribed course of studies, and that little is mainly limited to the local students who mean to undertake local work, as teachers, doctors, clergymen, or in some other form of employment by the local government, for admission to all of these and, in fact, to every professional pursuit, is regulated by government. Once matriculated, and fresh from long years of hard work at the gymnasium, the student at a German university takes such courses as he likes, pays for those he chooses, attends or not as he likes, and waits for the examination to show what he has learned. Of course for special students in laboratories and for post-graduate students, the professors make suitable arrangements. German students come and go from and to one university after another, and apart from a compulsory attendance at their local university, they are free to take one or more terms at any other university, and such changes are the rule, not as with us the exception. In the absence of dormitories,

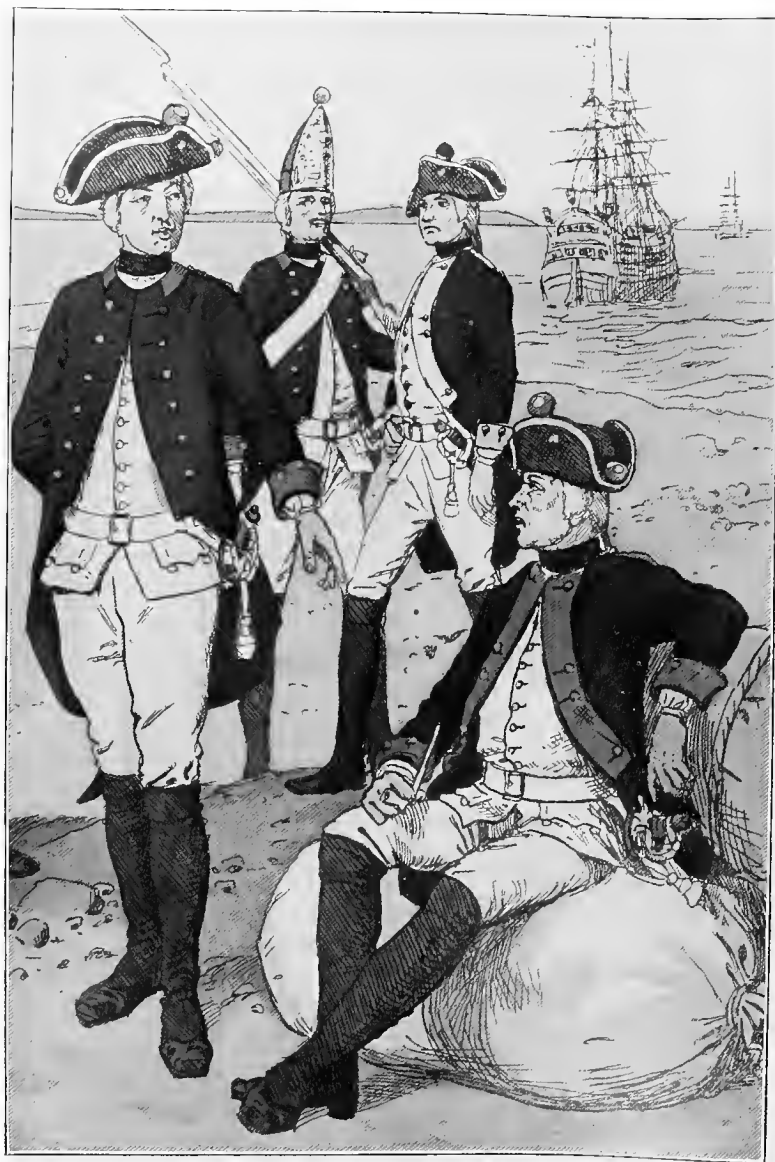
commons, and gymnasiums and athletic field sports, the German students join organizations, either the corps which make duelling their distinguishing mark, or unions, which don't. Between the two there exists a social barrier, very like that which separates the aristocracy, whether it be that of birth or wealth, from the plain folk. As all German life is largely regulated by the distinction between military and civilian, so the German university world is divided into the corps students and the *Burschenschaften* or non-duelling associations.

The students have no division into classes, but rank only according to their years of matriculation and attendance on lectures. They have no debating societies or secret societies, yet they have absolute freedom so long as they violate no police rules — and even then they are free from the control of the police, but must be tried in the courts of the universities, which have their own prisons. Their singing we have all heard of, and besides their song books, so frequently used in our own university and other singing clubs and societies, there is an amusing volume of "Prison Songs," composed by students serving the very short terms imposed, generally only a few days. Of course, in case of fatal duels, the survivor may be sent to a fortress, but the student like the soldier, is subject to a special code of laws far lighter than that of the outer world.

The German student as he is seen at Heidelberg or any of the universities in Germany, is very picturesque and attractive, but these holiday years are soon over, and the serious, sober, ambitious student, who is to make a famous professor, a great chemist, a learned philosopher, is early led to leave his old corps brethren and to devote himself to that pursuit on which he is to spend his life. The learned professor who on his deathbed sighed and regretted

that he had wasted any time on the second aorist, when he might have done something if he had devoted himself to the first, is typical of that single aim which has been the characteristic of German thoroughness. Our own American students who go to Germany well equipped by their work at home, are those who gain the best fruits of the rich harvest of learning stored in the German universities.





UNIFORMS OF BRUNSWICK TROOPS.

PRINCE FRIEDRICH RGT.

GRENADIER

V RHETZ RGT.

V RIEDESEL RGT.



CHAPTER IX.

ACHENWALL'S OBSERVATIONS ON NORTH AMERICA, 1767.¹



THE most complete work on the British colonies in North America is the summary historical and political by William Douglas, of which the second improved edition was published in London, 1760, in two octavo volumes. That doctor collected material for many years and was in America, and gives valuable intelligence, especially of the Colonies he visited, but

his book has no system. Professor Kalm has much that is good in his *Travels in North America*, and often cites

¹ During Franklin's short visit to Germany in the summer of 1766 he met a number of the professors of the University at Göttingen. One of them, Professor Achenwall, published in the *Hanoverian Magazine*, in the volume beginning 1767, p. 258, etc., "Some Observations on North America and the British colonies from verbal information of Dr. Franklin," and this article was reprinted in Frankfort and Leipsic in 1769. There is a copy of this reprint in the Logonian Library, from which the following translation was made. There is a copy of the Magazine in the Astor Library, New York. It is of interest as showing the impression made by Franklin on his German auditors, although it is clear that Achenwall did not report quite correctly.—J. G. R.

Herrn Hofrath Achenwall's
in Göttingen
Anmerkungen
über
Nordamerika
und über dasige Grossbritannische
Colonien
aus mündlichen Nachrichten des
Herrn Dr. Franklins.



Frankfurt und Leipzig
1769.

ORIGINAL IN LOGANIAN LIBRARY.

Franklin, but did not altogether understand what he said, and Franklin never saw Kalm's book until he came across a German translation in Hanover.

The east coast of North America, where the British colonies lie, is generally colder than the countries on the same stretch in Europe, nor has it been observed that owing to the decay of forests and cultivation the climate is becoming noticeably milder. Almost the whole eastern coast of North America is sandy, many little islands along the coast are sand banks, thrown up gradually by the sea. The coast of Florida is sandy and unfruitful, but the interior is good land. The native Indians consist of many small nations, each with his own language, quite different from that of their neighbors. They are all of one figure as if descended from a common ancestor — all brown in color, with straight black hair, eyes all of one color, and all beardless, and they call Europeans the bearded nation. They live in the wilds, except a few that have been gathered in villages and are partly civilized. They live on plants and by hunting, without farms or cattle, chickens, horses, etc.

Before the arrival of Europeans, their important plants were Turkish corn or maize; a sort of beans; tobacco. Maize and tobacco are found only in America, and were brought from the new world to the old. Maize and beans they cook and use bear fat in place of butter as dressing, but no salt. Smoking tobacco is an old custom, especially at their national gatherings. These three plants they look on as a special gift of heaven. According to an old tradition, an American found a handsome young woman sitting on a hill — who in acknowledging a deep bow, said she came from above and at the end of a year would come again to the same hill. She was there again at that time, on her

right hand maize, on her left beans, and on her lap tobacco, and these three she left as a present for the American. Before Europeans brought them, there were no other grain or vegetables known than maize and beans, but all like the newcomers have increased wonderfully. The Spanish historian de Solis is altogether wrong in saying that Mexico at the time of the invasion was a populous and mighty state. The Mexicans were savages, without art or knowledge, and how could they form a great state? They had neither farming nor cattle and could not find food for a large population nor had they any means of transportation. The weapons of the savages in North America are bows and arrows, and they shoot with the teeth of wild animals. They recognize some of the principles of natural law and observe them even with their enemies. They scalp usually only the dead — then they cut the scalp off with a sharp weapon and keep it as a sign of victory. Sometimes the victim comes to life — some such are in Pennsylvania, for scalping is not necessarily mortal. They fight on foot, for they have no horses. The savages living in western Pennsylvania were called by the French Iroquois. The English call them the Five Nations or the Confederate Indians — they are united and were so long before the English settled. The Mohawks first united with another nation and others joined later. Now there are seven altogether so united. They have their regular stated meetings and their great council considers the general good. The members are known only by their different languages. They are called subjects of the king, but they are not subject to British laws, and pay no taxes, but the colonists give them a tribute of presents. Their number does not increase. Those living near the Europeans steadily diminish in numbers and strength. Their two sexes are of a cold nature — the

mothers live alone at and after the birth of children and during the years they suckle them—often (owing to the absence of soft food) until their young can eat meat. Small-pox and rum have played sad havoc among them.

The English settlements in North America have grown much more slowly than those in the West Indies, where they came about 1640, and in twenty years had flourishing colonies, such as Barbadoes. In North America the colonists came sixty years before, but at the end of the seventeenth century were small in number and in exports. This is due to the rich production of the Sugar Islands, the absence of Indians, and the contraband trade with Spain. The North American colonies have in the eighteenth century greatly increased in population and wealth, far beyond the West India Islands.

Franklin in a book published in 1751 showed that the native born foreigners double every twenty-five years; in addition is the steady emigration, and some colonies thus double their population in eighteen, some in sixteen, and some in fourteen years. This will go on as long as there is plenty of farm land, and this increases largely with the acquisition of Canada and Louisiana. In 1750 there were a million, Douglas in his book estimated that in 1760 there were 1,051,000, besides blacks and soldiers—on that basis in 1775 there will be two millions, and at the close of the eighteenth century, four millions. To attract foreigners, an Act of Parliament granted English citizenship to every Protestant after seven years' residence, a right that in England can only be obtained with great expense and trouble by a special Act of Parliament. The certificate of the provincial authorities costs only a few shillings and is good through all England.

Near the coast and some miles beyond, all the Middle

Colonies are settled, and new improvements are extending deeper in the interior. In Pennsylvania, where the Penn family own all the land, any one who wants to improve the land, chooses a piece, pays the landlord for 100 acres ten pound sterling local money, and binds himself to pay an annual rent of half a penny for each acre, he then becomes absolute owner, and the little ground rent can never be increased. Sometimes the hunter builds a wooden hut, and the nearest neighbors in the wilderness help cut the timber, build the log hut, fill the crevices with mud, put on the roof and put in windows and doors, and in return the owner pays them with a gallon of brandy, and by a like good service in turn. Then he lays out his garden and pasture and fields, cuts out the underbrush, tops the big trees and strips the bark, so that he can sow and reap, the trees die and hurt neither land nor crops. Many hunters have thus settled the wilderness—they are soon followed by poor Scotch or Irish who are looking for homes, these they find in this half improved condition, they buy from the hunters, get a patent from the proprietors, paying the usual charge. The hunter moves off into the wilderness and goes to work again. The Scotch or Irishman completes the half-finished task, builds a better house of sawed timber, uses the old log hut for a stable, later builds a house of brick and his timber house is a good barn. Scotch and Irish often sell to the Germans, of whom from 90 to 100,000 live in Pennsylvania, and prefer to put all their earnings into land and improvements. The Scotch or Irish are satisfied with a fair profit, put the capital into another farm, leaving the Germans owners of the old farms. In Pennsylvania there is no law to prevent cutting up a farm into very small holdings nor to forbid the purchase of very large bodies of land. There is no danger

from either course, for there is land enough for rich and poor, and the former prefer the larger profits from trade to the small return from land. In New England, unlike Pennsylvania, a good deal of land is let to farmers, for there are many rich owners of large estates, this is so too in the Carolinas, and in other colonies where owners of ten or twenty or more thousands of acres bring settlers at their own expense to improve their land. Kalm mentions similar cases in New York.

When an owner of land dies intestate, and there are many children to inherit the father's farm, it is generally taken by the eldest son, and the younger children get in money their share of its appraised value, the eldest son gets two shares, the other children only one apiece. The father of a large family takes from the proprietary a large tract of land, which on his death can be divided among all his children. In New England improvement of the land is made in a more regular way than in Pennsylvania, whole towns are laid out, and as soon as sixty families agree to build a church and support a minister and a schoolmaster, the provincial government gives them the required privilege, carrying with it the right to elect two deputies to the legislature, from the grant of six English square miles. Then the town or village is laid out in a square, with the church in the center. The land is divided and each works his own, leaving however the forest in common, and with the privilege of laying out another village in time. In this way new settlements grow in New England in regular order and succession, every new village touching on an old one, and all steadily increasing in wealth and numbers. Nothing of this kind is done in Pennsylvania, where the proprietor wants only to sell land and as much as any one wants and wherever he likes. The mistake of this was

shown in the Indian wars. On the border were scattered houses and farms, which could not help one another, and they were attacked singly, plundered and destroyed, and the ruined owners with their families took refuge with the older settlements, which became burthened with their care.

Blacks are found in Virginia, Maryland and the two Carolinas in large numbers, but very few in Pennsylvania and further north. In Pennsylvania, on principle they were prevented coming as much as possible, partly because there was no such hard work as they were fitted for in raising tobacco, rice and indigo. In Pennsylvania, every negro must pay a tax of ten pounds sterling and this the master who brings him must pay. These negroes are protected by law in all the colonies, as much as free men. A colonist, even if he is the owner, who kills a blackman, is instantly sentenced to death, if he overworks or ill treats his slave, the latter can complain to the judge. Then in their own interest the masters are obliged not to give their slaves excessive tasks or insufficient food, for their death is a loss. The negro slaves have all the general rights of humanity except freedom and property, neither of which they possess.

The free in the colonies are of two kinds, the one servant and maid, bound for a half or whole year, and the term ends by mutual agreement; the other class consists of poor Scotch, Irish and Germans, who to get to America come without paying their passage, and the ship captain finds them a master who pays it and thus secures their service for food and lodging and clothing, without pay, but only for a term of years, never for life. Sometimes a father sells the services of his children to a master, who must teach them some useful trade, farming, carpentering, cooking. This lasts until majority — with boys at twenty-

one, with girls at eighteen, and in some cases for eight years, but not longer. Then the children are by law free, and their master is bound to give them the needful articles for housekeeping, a cow, farming implements, tools, etc. In this way all poor children have the hope of establishing themselves on their majority in freedom. The poor fathers find their comfort in this expectation, are relieved of the care of their children in the interval, and know that they are learning something useful and will start out in life with money in hand without having to pay anything to the master. The masters in turn are satisfied with the cheap service. This law has been introduced to cure the old need of servants and apprentices.

There is a special class of servants in the colonies, between peasants and slaves, those transported from Great Britain for certain crimes for from seven to fourteen years. It is an exile from Great Britain under penalty of prison in case of return. Such an offender is sold by the courts to a ship's captain who takes him to the colonies and sells him as a slave for a limited period. That over he is free. Formerly such servants were welcomed on account of the demand for laborers, but now they are no longer needed in the populous colonies, they remain worthless and are soon sent to prison for fresh offences.

The constitution of the British colonies differ according to the original grants, (1) royal, (2) proprietary, (3) charter governments, and the British Parliamentary statutes call them plantations under proprietors, under charters, under his majesty's immediate commission, Stat. 6 Anne, cap. 30, sec. 2. The first class are arranged strictly according to the British Constitution, with a governor, who represents the king, and two legislative branches, first the council, called the royal council, second representatives of

towns or counties, belonging to one colony, these two are like the two houses of the British Parliament, and the council is called the Upper House, and the body of representatives of the people the Lower House. In these three branches are vested the law making powers of the colony, but subject to the crown, hence united they are called the assembly, although that title is popularly limited to the two houses and often to the Lower or popular House. The king appoints the governor and recalls him at pleasure. The council also consists of royal officials dependent on the king as to terms and nature of appointment, but generally selected from the principal persons of the colony, legal, financial and military officers. Governor and councillors have fixed salaries and certain fees, the governor a large fixed salary, provided in advance by the colonies, thus the Governor of Barbadoes has £2,000, the Governor of Virginia £1,000. The popular representatives are elected annually and receive a fixed per diem allowance. They look after the rights and privileges of the people, just as do the council and the governor after those of the crown. Every measure approved by the three bodies becomes a law, but only provisionally, for it must be sent to the king for approval, but if not vetoed within three years, it is final. This is the usual rule for colonial governments, (with some local exceptions) in all the West India Islands, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, both Carolinas, New Georgia, New Scotland, New Hampshire, and I believe Quebec, East and West Florida, and the newly acquired Caribbean Islands, and the English consider it the best way of securing the rights of the mother country, that is, Great Britain. The second class is that of hereditary proprietors, such as those of Pennsylvania and Maryland. In the former the English family of Penn, in the latter the

Irish Lords Baltimore are the hereditary proprietors and governors, as over lords they draw a certain income from all the colonists in proportion to their land, and all improved land is sold at a fixed price. Both tax and price are low, but the growth of both colonies has made both families rich. Lord Baltimore has the right of patron of all churches in Maryland. As hereditary Proprietors both appoint their lieutenant governors, who are confirmed by the king, and reside in the provinces. In both colonies there are assemblies—that in Maryland consists of the Council and the House of Commons, and subject to the right of the proprietor, has the same jurisdiction as that of any other colony.

The third kind of government is the chartered or free government. This is nearest a democracy, and is less dependent on the crown. This form of constitution exists in the three colonies of New England, completely in Connecticut and Rhode Island—in Massachusetts with certain restrictions. The two first named colonies have the right to elect all their own officers, including the governor and council, and to make all needful laws without royal approval, nor can the decisions of their courts be appealed from. In Rhode Island even the ministers of the churches can be removed at the end of a year, so that they hold office only for one year's salary.

Massachusetts Bay formerly had these popular rights, but owing to abuses their former privileges and freedom were repealed by the King's Bench under Charles the Second, and only partly restored by a new Charter from William the Third. Since then the King appoints the governor and the chief law and treasury and all military officers. The representatives have the right to elect councillors, but subject to a negative veto of the governor.

This election in Massachusetts as well as in Connecticut and Rhode Island, is made by both Houses, annually, because the members of the council hold office only for a year.

Laws passed by the assembly must have royal approval, and in cases involving over £300, there is an appeal to the Privy Council in London.

The Governor of Massachusetts has no fixed salary, but it is fixed every year by the Assembly. Kalm says this is so in New York also. He must therefore be popular with the assembly or the king will replace him by another likely to be so. This uncertain tenure is unpopular in Europe because it affects unfavorably the interests of the colony and makes that of Great Britain dependent on the colony. The colonists answer that a fixed salary would enable the governor to live abroad and send only a lieutenant governor as substitute.

Pennsylvania has its own constitution. Penn as proprietor draws a revenue of a half penny sterling local currency for every acre of improved land, and every purchaser of wild land can buy a hundred acres for £10 and the usual quit rent. As proprietor he sends a deputy, whom he pays, and appoints all judges, but ministers are chosen by their own congregations in every county. The meeting of the Pennsylvania Legislature consists of only one house (because there is no council) made up of representatives of the various counties. These are elected annually October 1, each county holding its own meetings for the purpose, every inhabitant worth £50, resident for twelve years, has a vote, these meetings elect eight deputies to the Assembly, every elector is eligible, but mostly well to do citizens are elected. The county gives its representatives six shillings a day, but the deputies



HESSIAN DRAGOON.
(HESSE-CASSEL DRAGOON REGIMENT.)

have to spend more out of their own pockets. There is no bribery. Every voter deposits a written ballot, and the persons who have the highest number are declared elected. The purchase of votes would be very unsafe, as the voter could always write another name on his ballot. This house with the lieutenant governor is the law making power. The governor however depends on the assembly for his salary, as he has no fixed allowance, which is voted only from year to year, and if he displeases the assembly, it votes him no salary for the next year. The assembly has been for six years on bad terms with the proprietor and has made no grant for the governor. The assembly wants the proprietor to pay tax on his property especially towards the extraordinary war expenses. The decision rests with the king in council, but if the assembly appealed, it would be sent to the King's Bench. The fact that all judges are appointed by the proprietor, makes difficulties, as he is in his own cases both judge and plaintiff. The newer colonies have institutions based on acts of Parliament for New Georgia and New Scotland, but the older colonies have charters from the King, and not from Parliament. These colonies claim to be subject to the King, but not to Parliament, at least not to its arbitrary power, like the newer colonies, which owe their existence to Parliament. The latter are called plantations within his Majesty's dominions, the former his Majesty's plantations.

The legal institutions of the colonies are based on those of England, for these are part of the Englishman's rights. All personal relations are controlled by statute law and common law. Roman law is recognized only in courts of admiralty. The right of trial by a jury of twelve men is recognized just as in England. It was one of the grounds of complaint against the Stamp Act, that questions arising

under it were not tried by jury, but by courts specially created.

Most of the colonists of English descent are Presbyterians. There is not one bishop of the Established Church in America, although there are many parishes belonging to it. These are all under the Bishop of London, and every one of their clergymen must be examined and ordained in England, at a cost of at least £40 to £50, but their stay in England helps their education. As the bishops have spiritual jurisdiction, there are no ecclesiastical courts in the colonies, and matters pertaining to them are settled partly by local courts, partly by the assemblies. The spiritual lords have proposed to send a bishop to America, but since the time of Charles the First, that title has been greatly disliked in the colonies. Catholic churches are found in Pennsylvania as well as in Maryland, in the former because freedom of religion is universal, in the latter because the Baltimore family, the proprietors, were formerly Catholics, none are found in the other colonies. There are Jews in Pennsylvania and New York, in the latter there is a synagogue, in the former only schools. Pennsylvania is preëminent for the entire religious equality or toleration, under which it has increased in population and wealth. Roman Catholics are however excluded from all offices and from the assembly, because they cannot take the usual religious oath and subscribe under the test act. This oath must be taken here as well as in England, as well as that against the Pretender. All other Protestant faiths enable the members to hold office. For education in science there has long been a high school in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and there is another founded in 1749 in Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania. Franklin proposed and founded it. The money

was raised partly by subscription, partly by provincial grants. Most of the endowment consists of land, not very productive, but of value hereafter. This university has a president with £250 salary, and four professors—two with £200, two with £150, besides fees for private instruction. There is no college and therefore no lodging built yet. It has the right to confer degrees. In 1764 a medical school was added, and it will no doubt have the power to confer degrees. There is no law school yet and it is not likely there will ever be one of theology. The university was chartered by the assembly for the good of the colony, but as there are so many religious faiths all enjoying perfect equality, it is enough if the scholars are taught their religious tenets in their own schools with those of their own faith, while theology is excluded.

Farming, stockraising and fisheries flourish in all the North American colonies, and the forests supply all that is needed for fuel and industry. Grapes are successfully cultivated in North America and wild grape vines are found in some forests. The cheap wines from Canary interfere with the production. Silk can be cultivated and mulberry trees grow as far north as New England. Cod fishing is more valuable than a silver mine, for it trains up good sailors and helps many industries. New England, New Scotland and Newfoundland are most largely interested in it. Colonists have the same fishing rights in these waters as Englishmen. The largest market is Spain and Portugal. These Catholic countries are large consumers, and the fishermen often bless the Pope.

The French fisheries since the recent peace have greatly diminished in extent, but the French take a good deal of the trade, as their own consumption is supplied by French fishing fleets. The New England fishermen sup-

ply Portugal, Spain and Italy at a cheaper rate than the French.

Whale fishing is increasing, and the Island of Nantucket owns hundreds of ships in this industry. It stretches from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on the coast of Greenland, as far south as Florida. Beasts of prey do little harm — bears and wolves rarely injure men, and bear meat is much liked. Deer are plentiful and buffalo are easily found and can be tamed and used, as in Asia Minor, Persia, Egypt, Ethiopia and the East Indies, as draught animals. Kalm praises the sugar maple and took some of the young trees to Sweden. The sugar can replace that of the West Indies, although it has not yet done so. The bounty on pearl and potashes has made a large industry — over a thousand tons are annually produced.

Shipbuilding is growing greatly in the North American colonies. Ships are all built of oak, some for use at home, others for sale in England.

Pennsylvania is mainly farming and cattle growing, just as are most of the German countries. It has little fishery trade, as it has a small coast, and it has no products that can be used largely in commerce.

The growth of the neighboring colonies is due to their fisheries, tobacco, rice and indigo. Pennsylvania flourishes on its farming and cattle. Horses are raised in some colonies, but it is better to raise oxen, which can be used for twelve years and then killed or sold.

The farmers are industrious and frugal, educate their families, and are growing rich in land, if not in money.

Manufacturing of wool, flax, iron, steel and copper, is growing — field pieces, rifled guns for hunters, and iron cannon are all made in the colonies. England does not interfere with domestic production, but it prevents exporta-

tion, and does not allow hats to be made, lest the English production, although made of American beaver, should be lessened in demand in the colonies. There is little ground for fear of American competition, as workmen are few there, and farming is always preferred to trades. Farmers are good fathers, and large families help economical living. Even if manufacturing increases, it cannot keep pace with the increase of population and the demand for goods. In thirty-four years the population of Pennsylvania increased fourfold at most, but the importation of English wares increased from £16,000 sterling in 1725 to £268,000 in 1757, that is seventeen times greater. Four times the population uses much more than four times, really seventeen times more goods, because the population grows more rapidly in wealth than in numbers. Manufactures must in time be established in the colonies, because with their prosperity likely to increase for centuries to come, England and Ireland cannot supply all the wares needed and the colonies must provide them for their future necessities.

The three largest cities are Boston, New York and Philadelphia. In 1720 the first was as large as the other two together, but since then they have grown faster. In New England there are many seaports, but the only ports for New York and Pennsylvania are their two capitals, and they are likely to be the largest cities in America. Philadelphia has more than 3,000 houses, and more than 20,000 inhabitants. It is regularly laid out at right angles, and the streets extend every year.

Virginia has the fewest villages and only one little town, Williamsburg, its capital. The population is scattered and every family lives on its own tobacco plantation. The Chesapeake and its affluents reach everywhere and the colonists bring their tobacco by water to the bay, where it is loaded on sea going vessels.

New York has great advantages for trading with the native Indians, by means of the Hudson to Albany, and thence by smaller streams to Oswego and Lake Ontario, where the great fairs for dealing with the Indians are held. From Lake Ontario there is water way to Lake Superior. The Indians bring their skins and hides from the west by water to Oswego, and New York excludes traders from Pennsylvania. Philadelphia trades with New Jersey over the Delaware River. Salt is imported in fifty or sixty vessels from Spanish South America and the Cape Verde Islands and Senegal, where it is made from salt water, by drying in the sun.

The colonies are greatly restricted in their export trade, yet they have their own vessels, but they are not allowed to export their products, especially those needed for shipping, such as masts, ship timber, iron, copper, hemp, flax, cotton, indigo, tobacco, tar, potash, skins and furs — they must all be sent to England and sold there for export in British ships with British sailors, and where there are English trading companies, as in the East Indies, the colonies cannot trade directly. In 1765 the trade with the Spanish and French West Indies was forbidden, but the results were so bad that this restriction was removed. The colonies ship food stuffs to the Portuguese sugar islands, meal, butter, meat, grain, wood and timber for house building, etc., and bring back molasses, from which Rum is made. Trade with the Spanish Americas is contraband, but the colonists run the risk for the sake of the hard money it brings. Great Britain in 1766 established two free ports in the West Indies, one in Jamaica, the other in Dominica, the French have one in St. Domingo, the Dutch one in St. Eustache, the Danes one in St. Thomas, the English want to prevent the contraband trade with Spain, but have

made the restriction that foreigners can receive all goods free of duty, but must sell only for cash, and not in exchange for other goods.

Colonial shipping is important through the trade with the Spanish and French West Indies, the English sugar islands, and the fisheries. It deals with the regions south of Cape Finisterre, with Africa, the Canary and other islands, and in British ships with Cadiz, Malaga, Marseilles, Leghorn and Naples, and it might deal with Turkey. It carries the surplus products of the fisheries, grain, flour, timber, sugar and rice. The trade with Portugal is restricted because all its wine must be brought by way of England, so only salt as ballast is brought back. Sugar is the only cargo which the colonial shipping can carry and sell through Europe. England reserves the right to import and reship American products, yet it sells more than three million pounds and Ireland and Scotland two million pounds sterling of products in America. Hard money is rare in the colonies, and is higher in price than in England. An English shilling is 18 pence colonial, as against 12 pence in sterling. A guinea is 34 shillings, on account of its convenience for exchange for goods. Spanish pieces of eight, worth in England 4 shillings 8 pence, are worth in the colonies 7 shillings 6 pence, and gold pistoles have fallen to 27 shillings, because they are so often filled with base metal. A credit on London costs 175 p. c., that is 1 English pound sterling $1\frac{3}{4}$ in Provincial currency, but the price rises and falls, par is $133\frac{1}{3}$, but it often goes up to $166\frac{2}{3}$ p. c. During the late war par was as low as 125, because England spent so much money and so much was brought over by English soldiers, and it varies in different colonies. The colonies have paper-bills, bills of credit and currency, issued by the authority of the Assemblies which

bind themselves to redeem them, from £5 down to 1 shilling, but they are not good outside the province that issues them. It is used to raise large amounts for pressing needs, as in the French War to pay the soldiers, arm and clothe and feed them in the field. Sometimes the money is raised by currency bills which are taken in payment of taxes, etc. and are cancelled on return to the treasury office. This was copied from the English exchequer bills introduced in the reign of William Third by act of Parliament, but the English bills carry interest, and those of the colonies do not. Another sort of currency is issued to meet the demand for money on loan at interest, the current rate is 6 p. c., but these loans are made at 5 p. c., and the borrower must pay one tenth of the principal annually. Thus the colony can supply the means of helping farmers to buy cattle, agricultural implements, etc., and thus improve the land. The issues were made too freely in some colonies, and fell 15 to 20 p. c., and even more in the market. All the colonies used paper currency, until in some the English government restricted its issue by law to a fixed amount. The mother country did this to protect its trade from suffering loss. Pennsylvania restricted and regulated its issues also. The question has been much disputed as to whether such issues are advantageous or injurious, but it is still undecided. The taxes in the colonies are very light — in Pennsylvania and Virginia there is a tax payable in rent at a very low rate, to the proprietor in the former, to the crown in the latter colony, all other taxes are assessed by authority of the assembly — generally a land tax, of 6, 12, 18 pence up to 2½ shillings on the pound of rent, and incomes of professions and offices are taxed. There are no taxes on exports and imports or excise. There is a small light house tax on shipping. The Stamp Tax acts met

AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



PHOTO BY J. F. SACHSE, JUNE, 1900.

LOG CABIN NEAR STRASBURG, VIRGINIA.

BUILT BY HESSIAN PRISONERS, 1777-78.

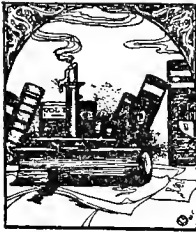
universal opposition, the colonies claimed the right to deal with their own finances, they had accepted all other Acts of Parliament touching their manufactures and trade, limiting their freedom, but these did not affect them as much as this direct attack on their purses. The colonists would not admit that Parliament had the right to tax them. They claimed to be English citizens, and that no English community could be taxed without its own consent, that is through its representatives in the House of Commons, but the colonies have none, such as the Scotch have, but only their own assemblies, there only can taxes be legally levied. Their money should be used to pay their own debts, not the national debt of Great Britain. The last war put a heavy debt on all the colonies — this ought to be first paid. The colonies maintained at their own expense, 25,000 men against the French, costing each colony yearly 20, 30, 50 and more thousands of pounds, when this debt is paid, the Crown would have the right to require the colonial assemblies to raise a similar loan. All the colonies were unanimous on this point, and for the first time met through their delegates in a congress called to object to the Stamp Act, and this they did on the right of English citizens to petition against any measure they think wrong, and this right is ensured to any number, whether it be 2 or 100 or 100,000.

There are few fortified places in America. Philadelphia is quite open to attack, and has only one battery on the river, to protect the city against invasion. There are a few forts to protect the settlers from the Indians. The provinces have their own militia, maintained at their own cost, the King appoints the officers. New England has the largest body of militia, and the little forts are manned by these troops under the King's commanders. There are English

regiments in North America garrisoning the large forts, these are paid by the Crown. The English like to serve in America, for they are paid in English sterling and are supplied by the local authorities with provisions. The conquest of Canada is advantageous alike to the English nation and to the colonies, for much of the expense of maintaining troops and forts is no longer required. England supported 25,000 men in the colonies, and the colonies as many more in the last war. The royal rule in America, when in harmony with the colonies, is inexpensive in the older colonies, for the King's Cabinet rules by a stroke of the pen. The colonies are well pleased that France handed New Orleans over to the Spanish. The Indians are sworn foes of the Spanish, who are neither so intriguing nor so industrious as the French, and hence England can keep on better terms with the Indians.

The general agreement of the colonies as shown in relation to the Stamp Act, is the more noteworthy, as the colonies have generally been jealous of one another. There are many disputes between them as to their borders, rivers, trade, etc. If the Colonies were entirely independent, they would soon be at war with one another. Only the protection of the King and his authority prevents open outbreaks. This jealousy increases with the growth of the colonies. Pennsylvania gets along best, for it leaves all trade both import and export open to all other colonies, only making such restriction in its own favor as may be needed to meet restrictions laid on its trade by other colonies, but all laws of this kind require the royal approval.





Appendix A.



The Wiederhold Diary includes among eighteen drawings and maps, plans of the battles of White Plains, King's Bridge, Trenton, Savannah, and plans of Dumfries, Winchester and Fredericksburg, Va., of Reading, Pa., in 1779, when that city contained 400 houses.

It is scrupulously accurate in military matters and gives minute descriptions of the people, manners, customs, products, commodities, prices and other features observed during his extended tour after his capture with Rall's Brigade at Trenton, through Pennsylvania to Fredericksburg and on return to New York. Taken a prisoner by a privateer, he was sent to Reading, paying 15 Spanish dollars for a covered wagon for the journey of 55 miles from Philadelphia. With him were the Colonel and Major and other Field and Staff officers of the regiment — for the baggage transportation they had to pay 320 Continental or paper dollars. The first night was spent at the Ridge in Roxborough; next day they passed Barrenhill where in 1778 Lafayette had a fortified camp with 6,000 of the best American troops and 150–200 Indians, yet allowed his position to be turned. That night was spent at another tavern beyond the Perkiomen. The next day they reached Reading. The Colonel, Major, Captains, Lieutenants, under charge of the American Lieutenant, Honnymann, lodged at the Independence Hotel — and, with very poor meals, the bill amounted to 376 Continental dollars. The officers hastened to get into a private house,

costing a guinea a month, at John Kendall's, a weaver. The winter was very severe. A Squadron of Light Dragoons under a German Captain, v. Heer, a Bayreuth man, had their winter quarters in Reading. Their uniform was blue coats with yellow facings and vest, leathern breeches and caskets. In March they were joined by another Squadron of Armand's Corps, like Heer's, all German deserters. Finally in November exchange was arranged and the German prisoners gladly left 'godforsaken Reading' for New York. They spent the first night at Richards' Tavern — the host was a Rebel Colonel and a very honorable fellow. December first they spent the night at Jacob Wagner's, very poor quarters, in Goshehope. The next night at Col. Kùchlein's, a German, and went to Col. Irvan's Plantation near London Ferry on the Delaware. On the 3d to Pits Town, on the Raritan River, and were refused quarters by Thomas Jonas and had difficulty in getting rooms in scattered houses. On the 4th passed through Potters Town and the North Branch of the Rariton, got a good meal at Mr. Berhard's, and the night meal and lodging at Little Brook at Mr. Kuling's. On the 5th reached Elizabethtown and found good quarters at Martin's Tavern.

On the 6th by boat to New York, and on the 7th were quartered in the Bowery, glad to be again with their countrymen, and free from the ill-behaved and ill-bred people of Reading.

APPENDIX B.

Popp's Journal owes its principal value to the three capital maps bound up with it—(1) of the Hudson from Fort Constitution to Esopus, showing the operations of General Clinton in September and October, 1777; when among the losses on the royal side were his adjutant, Count Grabowsky. (2) The plan of the landing of the Brothers Howe where the Elk River falls into the Chesapeake, with the advance of Knyphausen to Cecil Court House, and that of Cornwallis to Head of Elk, and their junction at Pencader. The map covers the territory from Salem on the Delaware to Baltimore, Chester and Ephrata and Manheim and Lancaster, to the Susquehanna, with a sketch of the positions at the Battle of the Brandywine. (3) A plan of Philadelphia and vicinity, including Frankfort, Germantown, Merion and Darby, and the attack on Fort Red Bank, with the unsuccessful attack in which Donop and Minnigerode were wounded, with view of the Forts where the Delaware is blockaded. They are evidently the work of a good German military engineer. One of them is reproduced at Chapter III., pp. 18-19.



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